The Outlook

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O for the High Hills of a Far Country!

PERHAPS the proximity of Mars is to blame. Perhaps there is a new series of sunspots, or there may be too many death-rays swinging their malevolent beams hither and yon. Whatever the cause, the world has just been through an emotional week!

For instance, the Albanians start a very lifelike revolution. The Turks are demanding why the Italians are mobilizing troops. Sixty thousand British potential immigrants excitedly jam the American consulates and can't get their papers fixed up. The Chancellor of Austria just misses being assassinated. An unknown Japanese achieves immortal honor by committing hara-kiri in front of the remains of the American Embassy in Tokyo. A phenomenally brutal murder is done by two precocious and badly spoiled young men in Chicago. The French are harrowing themselves with one of their governmental chaoses. Robert La Follette, his aspirations being wrecked, decides equally to wreck the coming elections—if possible. Mayor Hylan for the n'th time warns all and sundry against the subtle machinations of the Gary-Rockefeller people who would enslave, if they could, the schoolchildren of New York.

After all, trying to get on top of Mount Everest seems to be a very sensible and pleasant idea the more one thinks of it!

The Republican Convention

ON the day before the date of the publication of this issue the Republican National Convention will have been called to order at Cleveland, Ohio. In order that it might do its work, plans had to be laid long in advance. Much, therefore, of what that Convention will do can be foretold. In theory, of course, the eleven hundred odd delegates choose their own officers and committees, make their own platform, and select their own candidates for President and Vice-President; but if no agreements were reached ahead of time, these delegates would be sitting for weeks instead of three or four days. So everything possible is done before the Convention is called to order.

It is known, of course, that very nearly all of the delegates are in favor of the nomination of President Coolidge. The choice of the candidate settles incidentally a number of other questions, as, for example, the manager of the campaign, for the manager always is and must be personally acceptable to the candidate. William Morgan Butler, formerly a lawyer and now a large cotton manufacturer of Boston, will, by choice of the President, be made Chairman of the Republican National Committee. It is a matter of course that he will be elected to that position when the Committee organizes for the campaign on the last day of the Convention. He is very different from the old type of political headquartersman. The newspapermen, with whom he will have much to do, are, we believe, going to like him.

As for the conduct of the Convention itself, nothing of importance remains much in doubt except the selection of the Vice-Presidential candidate. Though Mr. Coolidge will dominate the Convention, it is not by any means certain that he or his friends will undertake to name his running mate. The President has said that the choice of the Vice-Presidential candidate belongs to the delegates. In this matter the delegates are capable of taking things into their own hands, as they did in naming Mr. Coolidge himself for the Vice-Presidential candidate four years ago. A list of names has appeared in the newspapers. It is almost certain that some man will be chosen who is associated with the Central or Western part of the country, in order that there may be proper geographical balance to the ticket. The real question concerning the Vice-Presidential candidate is whether a man known especially as a progressive will be chosen, so that both wings of the party will be represented—for Mr. Coolidge is generally regarded as conservative—or whether a conservatively-minded man will be chosen with a view to making the Republican party a distinctly conservative party in this campaign.

The Two Burtons

NONE of the men so far appearing conspicuously in the plans for the Republican Convention is especially notable as a progressive. The temporary chairman, Representative Theodore E. Burton, who will make what is known in political cant as the "keynote speech," is by no means reactionary, but is best known for his steadiness and poise. President Marion Le Roy Burton, of the University of Michigan, will nominate the President. For the first time in twenty years the nominating speech will be made by a man who is not an elected delegate. Dr. Burton will obtain his place on the platform by means of a proxy.

In former conventions there has usually been a group of leaders who have controlled the proceedings. This year there will be no Penrose-Crane-Barnes group. The Old Guard, which has received a sop in the selection of Frank W. Mondell as permanent Chairman of the Convention, will have to acquiesce in most of what is done by the President's friends. And most of these friends are not old-time politicians by any means, though some of them are not without experience, as, for example, James B. Reynolds; but Mr. William Morgan Butler, the prospective Chairman of the National Committee, and Frank W. Stearns, Nationally known as the original Coolidge man, are conspicuous rather as merchants and citizens than as politicians.

Great interest is centered this year in the platform, because it will be accepted as a fairly authoritative statement of Mr. Coolidge's policies. It is hardly conceivable that the platform committee will report a platform unsatisfactory to the President. We suggest that our readers compare the forthcoming platform with that which was prepared and published in The Outlook last week as a consensus of opinion of Republican voters.

Which Way Will He Jump?

SENATOR LA FOLLETTE, who has been watched with anxious eyes by the politicians of the two major parties, will still continue to be watched by these

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same gentlemen. Although the Senator from Wisconsin has made a statement of his position which is in a measure reassuring to those who like to see political campaigns develop along routine channels, there remains a large element of doubt as to exactly what the Senator will do.

He has condemned out of hand the Communist-minded group of men and women who expect to dominate the Farmer-Labor Convention which will assemble at St. Paul on June 17. He repudiates the use of his name in connection with this Convention.

At the same time he serves notice upon the old parties that unless they clean house an independent political movement will result. The verdict as to whether they have cleaned house or not of course still rests with Senator La Follette.

There are three ways in which the Senator can jump without repudiating his present utterance. He can form a separate party; he can support the Democratic candidate; he can even support Coolidge. All of which helps to keep politics interesting.

The Tax Bill is Signed—with Regrets

ON the theory that a half loaf is better than none, the President has signed the Tax Bill. Its features have been thoroughly detailed in The Outlook and in the press. The bill does afford a certain amount of welcome tax reduction, including the 25 per cent reduction on income taxes payable this year. For this reason the President felt he should sign it, despite the fact, as he says, that some of its provisions "are not only unsatisfactory but are harmful to the future of the country."

In criticising the bill the President noted the futility of taxing large incomes when fortunes can be placed in tax-exempt securities, and pointed out that new enterprises must languish when investment funds are driven into these securities. The result of this "punishes energy and initiative and must decrease revenue." He mentions among other points the "gift tax," "which is a further invasion of the rights of the citizen, both unusual in nature and of doubtful legality," the confiscation of capital caused by the combined State and National inheritance taxes, and the destruction of a citizen's sanctity in his private affairs which "our institutions guarantee" because of the easy access given to all information determining the liability of a taxpayer.

Here is food for thought. We are almost caught in the German system which would control and oversee an individual to the last detail, ending privacy and individual responsibility. And with this we must realize that taxes are no longer levied for revenue only, or to support National industries, but in no small degree to penalize success, ability, and organizing capacity—those essential qualities, possessed by a few, but of value to society at large beyond computation.

It is the President's hope that the next session of Congress will see this unsatisfactory bill so amended that it will be fair to all classes of society and will be aimed to support and not destroy the individual initiative and capacity which American institutions hitherto have so successfully encouraged.

Illusionists

TEACHERS and students at the Garret Biblical Institute, Northwestern University, voted 124 to 1 that they would never go to war again, no matter what the cause. The one student, so the newspapers report, who refused to make this pledge was Miss Inez Traxler, daughter of an attorney at Evanston, Illinois.

A wave of pacifism is sweeping through institutions like this one, and men and women are pledging themselves to be more thoughtless and foolish than they would ever be. It is not so much that Miss Traxler was the only one who refused to be both unwise and unpatriotic; the significant thing is that she was the only one who knew her own mind, the only one possessed of that much-talked-about quality—"vision." If we had to engage in another just war, a certain number of the students and teachers at the Garret Institute would help. They would fight or they would assist in other ways. They are not such bad citizens as they like to make out. Their minds fogged by the present fad for votes of this kind, they are simply insincere—and do not know it.

Miss Traxler kept not only her title to good citizenship, but also her good sense.

Destructive Precocity

PARENTS of precocious children should take due warning from the lesson taught by the execrable Franks murder in Chicago. In a previous issue we made a plea for the rational care and training of precocious and very able children. The usual procedure is for parents and school to combine and advance such unfortunates as rapidly as possible, and to take no end of pride in college entry at some highly juvenile and immature age.

Such children have an abnormal environment. They lose healthy associations with others of their age and are thrown with much older individuals whose maturity they can imitate not in any healthy way, but only in its less desirable possibilities. They are apt to be spoiled to the extreme limit and to develop an egocentric view-point destructive of proper social concepts and behavior. When all this is added to large financial allowances they arrive at as pernicious a summation as could well be imagined.

A precocious child may develop into a happy and useful being—or become the abject failure typical of so many. The most reasonable treatment is not to encourage rapid school advancement, but to keep such a child with children of his own age, and to broaden the course to whatever degree is necessary to occupy his mental faculties. In this way he will receive the proper mental development and retain those healthy and normal social contacts which mean everything both for happiness and success.

Gifts Well Bestowed

THREE generous and notable gifts for public purposes have lately been announced: that of a million dollars by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., for reconstruction of the battered roof of Rheims Cathedral and for repairs and restorations at Versailles and Fontainebleau; that of George F. Baker of five million dollars as a permanent endowment for the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration; and that of the General Education Fund (founded by John D. Rockefeller, Sr.) of half a million dollars towards Harvard's fund for equipment in its chemistry departments.

Americans, whose sense of beauty, ancient association, and reverence were revolted by the German attack on the noble cathedral at Rheims, will feel pride and pleasure that through the first-named benefaction America will have a substantial part in saving Rheims Cathedral for posterity; wherever such a splendid legacy of art and beauty may stand, in a wide sense it belongs to the world; attacks upon it were rightly denounced by all who regard it as the superlative example of Gothic religious art and by those also who felt that it typified French courage and steadfastness. The case is

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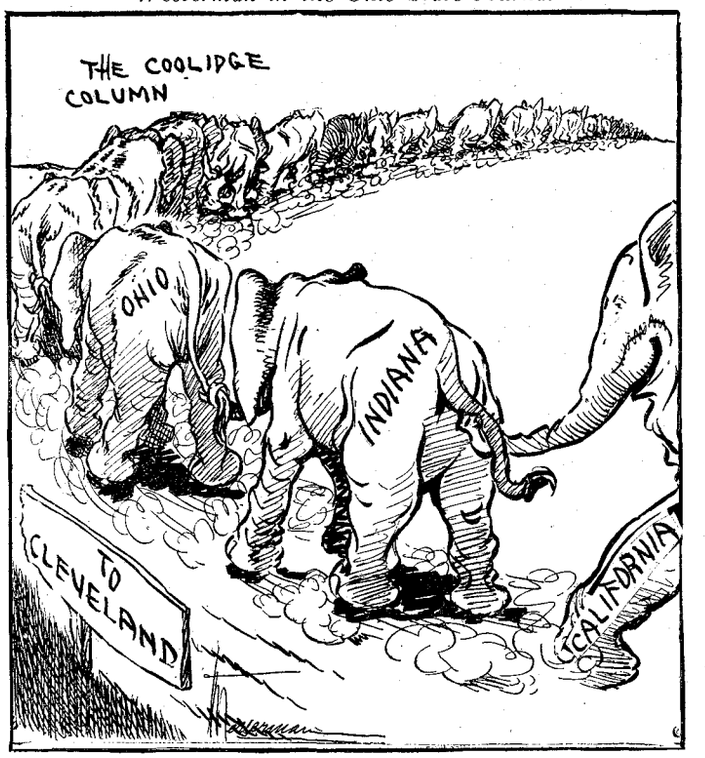
Prodigies do so conjointly meet

(Julius Cæsar, Act I, Scene 3)

Morris for the George Matthew Adams Service

The call

Westerman in the Ohio State Journal



Swish! Swish! Swish! Swish!

From Madge Sullivant, Fort Scott, Kansas

Darling in the New York Herald Tribune

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All for the horse

From Mrs. Jennie I. K. Miller, Ridgefield, Conn.

Cargill in the Kansas City Journal

Are any of 'em poison?

From Madge Sullivant, Fort Scott, Kansas

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tersely put by Mr. Rockefeller in his letter to M. Poincaré when he says: "Among the treasures of which France is custodian are some which belong to the patrimony of all nations, for their influence is a source of inspiration of universal art." Equally well expressed are M. Poincaré's words in accepting the gift as "witness of your unswerving friendship for France and your admiration for her architectural glories, which belong, as you so well say, to the artistic patrimony of the whole world."

Mr. Baker's liberal contribution to the extension of Harvard's growing and active School of Business Administration is accompanied by statements indicating what part instruction of this kind may play to advantage in a great university. He announces that he hopes the gift may help to place business on the same plane as the traditional learned professions, and explains that wish by saying: "Professional education for business does not mean education merely in technicalities, which, although important, are secondary compared to the vision and broad intelligence involved in leadership in promoting the material prosperity of mankind."

This is a sound definition. A university does not wish to teach men how to get rich. It may well try to show them how to apply to business the principles of economy, justice, and fair dealing, how to deal with waste, with labor disputes, with international trade, with efficiency, with the relations between wealth production and the public welfare. The donor is a business man and financier of wide knowledge; he is here trying to do something for the Nation, not for the money-grabber.

The Intercollegiate Track Meet

THAT the intercollegiate track and field meet held at Cambridge on May 31 was a hard-fought struggle is shown by the fact that Yale's victory over its competitors was by the narrow margin of one point. The winning score of 28 points was all but equaled by Pennsylvania University's total of 27 points. Stanford, which by some writers on track athletics had been predicted as winner, took the third place with 24½ points, and Princeton, Penn State, and the University of Southern California followed in the order named. Altogether thirteen colleges competed.

Another notable thing about this track meet was the fact that the winner of the contest had only one first place credited to it, but that was enough, as the number of second and third places gained by Yale gave the preponderance. The score was so even that hardly any one knew which college would be the victor until the final event, the hammer throw, in which Yale won only third place, but these three points added to its other scores made the necessary 28 points. The one first place secured by Yale was the broad jump, with the record of 24 feet and 8 inches.

Three records were beaten the other day at Cambridge: Comins, of Yale, in the broad jump (24 feet 8 inches); Hartranft, in putting the shot (49 feet 5⅞ inches), and Hartranft again in throwing the discus (158 feet 8 inches).

These intercollegiate contests in field and track sports have been carried on for many years, and the victory of Yale in this special meet was the more welcome to that University because it was the first time for twenty years that it had secured that honor. One athletic result of these meets has been that the excellent training has developed fine material for international track and field contests. There have been, we believe, four such international meets between Oxford and Cambridge on the one hand and Harvard and Yale on the other. At that which took place at the Wembley Stadium last year the English colleges won by the very narrow margin of 6½ to 5½ points.

International

Comins, of Yale, winning the broad jump (24 feet 8 inches) and setting a new record

Presbyterians Disperse in Peace

IN the Presbyterian Assembly, which was under the control of the wing commonly called Fundamentalist, the unexpected happened. Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, the famous Baptist minister who has been preaching regularly in the First Presbyterian Church in New York City and who on account of his liberal views has aroused great hostility among those who hold fast to tradition, was not even threatened with removal from this pulpit, but was on the contrary invited to become a full-fledged Presbyterian. It is perhaps not charitable to suspect that some of those who voted to extend this invitation did so because they found that as a Baptist he was personally out of reach of Presbyterian discipline. We must suppose that the Assembly as a whole was moved to its action by the opinion that a Baptist regularly preaching in a Presbyterian church presented an anomaly. Of course the peaceably inclined among the liberals were gratified by this decision of the Assembly. If the Assembly had undertaken to discipline the First Presbyterian Church in New York City it would have encountered the vigorous opposition of the strong New York Presbytery, and might have conceivably provoked a revolt of serious dimensions. Caution in this case as in many other cases proved a good ally to fraternal feeling.

A Heretical Bishop

ANOTHER futile heresy trial has been held. The Right Rev. William Montgomery Brown, retired Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Arkansas, was tried in Cleveland, Ohio, by seven of his peers in the House of Bishops and found guilty of heresy.

Certainly if a heresy trial in a Protestant body can be justified at all it would be justified in this case. There is scarcely any belief commonly regarded as essential not merely to Christianity but to any religious faith which Bishop Brown has not disclaimed. He has avowed himself as an atheistic and communistic Christian. He has declared that the God of "Christianism" is "a magnified man without a body, above an imaginary vault;" and that the "god of capitalism, though only a symbol, is nevertheless real gold, below a real vault." And yet he believes in the Trinity, for he writes, "My god, Nature, is a triune divinity—matter being the father, force the son, and law the spirit." Elsewhere

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he speaks of the Trinity as "matter-force-motion." He has explicitly declared his acceptance of the whole Bible from beginning to end and the Nicene and Apostles' Creeds. He has "ceased to believe in the existence of a conscious, personal divinity" and doubts whether Jesus as a historical person ever lived.

His defense is that everybody interprets the Bible and Creeds in some places symbolically. He claims, however, the right to interpret the Bible and Creeds symbolically throughout. He argues that no one in a literalistic sense is 100 per cent orthodox and that therefore he has the right to be in a literalistic sense 100 per cent unorthodox. In a letter to the President of the Court he points out that not even Judas was deposed from the Episcopate; and adds: "I also have as much right to remain in it and to preach my interpretation of the Christian Gospel to the Bolsheviki and Infidels as Paul had to preach his interpretation of it to the Gentiles."

It was almost a foregone conclusion that he would be declared a heretic.

Nevertheless, what has this heresy trial accomplished? It has given wide currency to theories which otherwise would have passed practically unnoticed. The way to combat such ideas is not to try to suppress the man that holds and teaches them, but to show up their falsity.

The theory of the Roman Catholic that the Pope is vicar of God and what he says concerning doctrine must be accepted as the infallible and final truth is understandable; but it is hard to understand the theory that there is no vicar of God on earth and yet that a group of Bishops can decide what interpretations of the Bible and Creed are true and what are not. It is doubtful whether any one of the Bishops who tried Bishop Brown believes that God has a body with a right hand and a left hand, and yet each one of them recites the Creed that declares that Jesus has ascended and sits on the right hand of God. Even among the most orthodox this statement is interpreted symbolically.

The question before Protestant bodies is whether they shall set up committees, or courts, or assemblies, to play the part of Pope and determine for the faithful what they must accept literally and what symbolically. This is the real issue in the Protestant Church to-day. The alternative to a Protestant papal theory is the belief that the only weapon necessary against error is the truth and that the only moral and spiritual authority that man needs is the voice of God in his own conscience.

Wide World Photos

Bishop Montgomery Brown, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, who has been convicted of heresy

Canada and the Japanese Question

ANTI-JAPANESE sentiment, more particularly in Western Canada, revived by the example of the American Congress in its Japanese exclusion policy, is manifesting itself in a renewed agitation against the flooding of the Dominion by Asiatics, who, it is alleged, are by their Oriental virtues of superior acuteness, endurance, and adaptation forcing the small Canadian farmer to the wall.

While it is the Opposition in Parliament who are most ardently voicing the protest against Japanese immigration, declaring Japan to have grossly violated her "gentlemen's agreement," anti-Japan propaganda is not confined to this quarter. Both the Government and the Opposition are considering the advantages which would accrue to both countries if the United States and Canada could co-operate for an international immigration law for the barring of Orientals. Such joint legislation would be especially desirable for Canada, it is pointed out by Canadian politicians, because it is feared that if the United States exclusion policy is rigorously enforced an increase in the Japanese immigration to Canada may take place.

It is only in eastern Canada that a quiet tolerance for Japanese immigrants is exhibited. The problem has not resolved itself there into a conflict between standards of living, as in the West, where the Japanese have invaded the industries of farming and fishing, gradually achieving a monopoly of labor because of their simpler needs and lesser wage demand. To eastern Canada many prudent Japanese have come, generally of artistic bent, encouraged and attracted by the eastern Canadian's apathy with respect to the much-discussed "yellow peril." In consequence there has been a growing tendency for Japanese to land at Montreal in lieu of Vancouver. In the wake of their settlement many little art stores have arisen. The eastern Canadian regards the Japanese curio shop as conferring an added charm to old romantic Quebec. It is only in this section of Canada that the ominous slogan "A white Dominion" is not popular.

It is the great stretch of Canada from Manitoba to the Pacific Ocean (for the Japanese have not remained segregated in British Columbia, but are penetrating ever steadily farther east) which is the stronghold of anti-Japanese sentiment.

The Opposition in a recent statement issued in Parliament relative to the Japanese question insisted that Canada must not permit herself to be influenced by Japan's announcement of herself as "a proud nation." Moreover, the Canadian Opposition regards the protests emanating from Japan as hypocritical in view of the fact that Japan is said to follow an identical exclusion policy with respect to the Orientals from China and Korea.

French Hyphenism

CLEMENT RUEFF, an importer, and President of the French Democratic Club of New York, has sent a circular letter supporting Governor Smith to the various French societies. In his letter he hopes that all citizens of French descent will "give all their support to the election of the courageous and honest man, the defender of individual liberty, who, if he is elected, . . . will not fail to employ all his efforts in order that the ridiculous and wicked laws about prohibition and the hypocritical limiting of the immigration of people of Latin origin may be repealed."

The French Democratic Club is affiliated with the Central Committee of French Societies in New York, which includes the Alliance Française. As Mr. Frank D. Pavey, President of the Alliance, puts it, "French national interests at the present time would probably be promoted by the importation and sale of French wines and liquors in the United

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States. But many American members of the Alliance Française would seriously object to any affiliation of that society with any organization which directly or indirectly supported that cause."

The Alliance is concerned exclusively with social and educational work, and very probably would object seriously to being involved with political matters. In attempting to join all the French societies against prohibition and against immigration restriction Mr. Rueff may succeed only in intensifying the feeling against interference in American politics in the interest of foreign nations as well as giving a wrong impression of the excellent aims and work of valuable French associations.

Politics in France

THEORETICALLY the President of the French Republic is as free of control by Parliament as the President of the United States is free of control by Congress. He is not the creature of Parliamentary action. In fact, however, if he engages in politics he can be called to account and forced to resign.

If President Millerand is forced out of office it is because he identified himself in some respects with the fallen Poincaré's policy, and because he stood for certain constitutional changes repugnant to the victors in the election. According to the French Constitution the President of the Republic appoints the President of the Council of Ministers (commonly called the Premier), who in turn selects the Cabinet. What the leaders of the majority in Parliament have told Millerand is that they will refuse to vote confidence in any man he may appoint for the Premiership, and that the only way the Government can be secure is by his resignation from the Presidency. Thus, although Millerand was elected for a definite term of years, he had to face the alternative of resigning or seeing the government of France paralyzed.

Those who remember the two articles by Raymond Recouly in The Outlook of last January 16 and 30, respectively, will understand the situation in which Millerand found himself when the Cartel des Gauches came into power.

The article by Mr. E. E. Hunt and the correspondence from Europe by The Outlook's editorial representative, Dr. Baldwin, both in this issue, will, we believe, help our readers to see the domestic issues which have caused the political overturn in France.

"The International Interpreter"

TWO years ago a group of public-spirited men and women founded "The International Interpreter." It was their belief that a real need existed for a weekly organ which would specialize in presenting clearly and forcefully the great issues of world affairs. The founders of that journal were internationally-minded men and women who believed that the cause of peace could be best served by promoting the cause of justice.

In two years "The Interpreter" gathered together an unusual group of readers. Numbered among this group was a remarkable proportion of people closely associated with the solution of problems of international finance and international politics.

The founders of "The International Interpreter" believe that by establishing a common bond of interest in international affairs within this group of men and women they have achieved perhaps their chief aim. They feel that this group, once organized, can be counted upon as a vital factor in the settlement of international difficulties. International interest once evoked, the need for a special organ for the satisfaction of that interest was no longer vitally essential. It was therefore determined to select a well-established journal to carry on the work of "The International Interpreter" in the field of American journalism. It was felt that The Outlook was the best adapted to promote the cause for which "The Interpreter" was founded.

In the last issue of "The International Interpreter," published May 31, appeared a statement from which the following is taken:

> The publishers of "The International Interpreter" have regarded themselves as the trustees of a high ideal and they feel strongly that they have chosen wisely in selecting as the future guardian of this ideal the group of men who are in control of The Outlook.
>
> "The International Interpreter" has, in the two years of its existence, gathered together perhaps the most influential group of internationally-minded men and women in the world. We believe that these men and women will find in The Outlook's traditional policy of peace through justice full satisfaction for the earnest desire which they have manifested for an enlightened and forward-looking weekly journal.
>
> We believe that the same loyalty which their readers have given "The Interpreter" will strengthen The Outlook in its growing power to serve mankind.

We extend a cordial welcome to the subscribers to "The International Interpreter" and promise them that we will do everything that we can to make them feel at home in the growing circle of Outlook readers. As the Editor-in-Chief of The Outlook has said in a personal letter to the new members of the Outlook family, "The Outlook has been and will continue to be an international interpreter as well as an interpreter of the life of our own Nation. The Outlook believes that America is true to itself only as it is a good neighbor to the rest of the world. It believes that the way to secure peace is through justice and the way to secure justice from others is to do justice to others." Readers of "The International Interpreter" will not find this an unfamiliar doctrine.

The World Court—Who Are its Enemies?

CERTAIN advocates of American participation in the World Court are hurting their own cause. By insisting that America shall participate in their way they may create a condition under which America may not participate at all. In their desire that America should participate we are with them; in their insistence on the method of participation we part company with them. The essential is not the method of joining, but the joining itself. Those who wish America to take its share in selecting the judges of the Court and in bearing its expense will subordinate the means to the end.

The history of the effort to have the United States join the League of Nations seems at present likely to be repeated in the case of the World Court. America did not join the League of Nations because there were irreconcilables on both sides. On behalf of those who cared more for the preservation of certain features of the League, such as Article X, to American participation in the League without those features, it may be said that they believed those features were essential to the League's integrity. Nothing of the sort, however, can be said on behalf of those who are refusing to consider modifications in the World Court plan. None of those modifications has

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anything to do with the structure of the Court or its jurisdiction or its powers. They have chiefly to do, not with the Court at all, but with the method of electing its judges, with its apparent dependence upon the League of Nations, with certain details of its procedure, and with certain verbal changes consequent upon these proposed modifications. And even such changes as are proposed in the method of electing judges require no change in the existing personnel.

Briefly, all the changes proposed are related directly or indirectly to the removal of the nominal connection between the Court and the League of Nations.

From what has been written in the news despatches and editorials of daily newspapers that are ardent in support of the Court one might infer that Senator Lodge had proposed the setting up of a brand-new court in place of the one now existing. Senator Lodge, in fact, proposed no fundamental change in the structure of the Court, but he gave a false impression to the public by making his plan appear as if it were something new instead of an old plan with modifications incorporated in it. Senator Pepper was wiser. He offered his modifications as a series of amendments.

Senator Pepper's amendments are fewer in number and narrower in scope than those of Senator Lodge. It is thus a compromise between the plan of Senator Lodge and the plan of Secretary Hughes.

President Coolidge's speech on Memorial Day, so far as it concerned international relations, has been interpreted as an attack upon the Lodge and Pepper plans. We do not so understand it. In that speech the President said:

> More than a year ago President Harding proposed that the Senate should authorize our adherence to the Protocol of the Permanent Court of International Justice, with certain conditions. His suggestion has already had my approval.
>
> On that I stand.
>
> I should not oppose other reservations, but any material changes which would not probably receive the consent of the many other nations would be impracticable. We cannot take a step in advance of this kind without assuming certain obligations. Here again if we receive anything we must surrender something.
>
> We may as well face the question candidly, and, if we are willing to assume these new duties in exchange for the benefits which would accrue to us, let us say so.
>
> If we are not willing, let us say that. We can accomplish nothing by taking a doubtful or ambiguous position.
>
> We are not going to be able to avoid meeting the world and bearing our part of the burdens of the world.
>
> We must meet those burdens and overcome them, or they will meet us and overcome us.
>
> For my part, I desire my country to meet them without evasion and without fear in an upright, downright, square American way.
>
> While there are those who think we would be exposed to peril by adhering to this Court, I am unable to attach great weight to their arguments.
>
> Whatever differences, whatever perils, exist for us in the world will come anyway, whether we oppose or support the Court.
>
> I am one of those who believe we would be safer and that we would be meeting our duties better by supporting it and making every possible use of it.

This simple, clear statement seems to us to be as far removed as possible from an attack upon the proposed modifications. Whether the modifications in Senator Pepper's plan are such "material changes" as "would not probably receive the consent of the many other nations" is a matter of opinion. In brief, the chief change proposed by Senator Pepper is one which substitutes for the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations as the electors of the Court's judges two new but similar bodies to be known as the Council of Signatories and Assembly of Signatories—indeed hardly new bodies, but the old bodies under a new name; for the Pepper plan is so drawn and can be so construed that while the Council and Assembly of the League are sitting, a motion could be made to constitute them as the Council of Signatories and Assembly of Signatories for the election of the judges of the World Court. What is there in this proposal to excite hot animosity? What is there in the President's speech to indicate that it has excited his animosity?

It ought to be possible for those who believe that Senator Pepper's proposal is not necessary to discuss the matter reasonably with those who think it is. Even the Lord is represented by the prophet as saying to a recalcitrant and unwise people, "Come, let us reason together."

We who believe that the Hughes proposals reiterated by President Harding and President Coolidge are sufficient to safeguard the United States from becoming entangled in the League of Nations might well put the matter to the overcautious as follows:

If it is insisted that the World Court is a creature of the League, it may be pointed out that the statute of the Court was originally drawn by an independent committee of jurists of which Elihu Root was a member; that the statute was not promulgated by the Assembly of the League of Nations and does not draw its force from any act of the Assembly; that it rests upon an independent, distinct, and separate treaty called the Protocol of Signature. This Protocol has been signed by forty-seven Powers, and the signature of the United States would in no way involve the country in any connection with the League of Nations.

In answer to the argument that the judges are chosen by the League, it may be stated that while it is true the judges are elected by the Council and Assembly of the League voting separately, the United States could co-operate with these two bodies for the one purpose of electing judges without in any way being drawn into further co-operation. When it is recalled that elections of judges may not be held more often than once in nine years, the "danger" to the United States of thus being brought into contact with the League of Nations would not be so excessive but that it might be duly provided against and safely withstood.

To the further objection that the Court's expenses are paid by the League, it may be said in reply that the budget of the Court forms a separate part of the budget of the League. The distinction is clear and permanent. For every dollar that is paid to the League of Nations, twelve cents are put aside for the expenses of the Court. There is nothing whatever to prevent the United States from paying its contribution directly to the Registrar of the Court at The Hague. To argue that because the Court draws its support from the League of Nations therefore the Court is placed under the influence of the League is similar to arguing that the judges of the Supreme Court of the United States are not independent of Congress because the funds for their salaries are secured through a vote of Congress.

In view of these facts, it does not seem to us that the fear of entanglements with the League is well founded. The connection of the Court with the League is obviously tenuous. It is certainly not such as to make the United States responsible for the League if the Hughes

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reservations are adopted. By the same token, the connection between the League is not so vital as to make the severance a matter of great difficulty. If the signatory Powers wish the United States to join the League, they can easily adopt the rule that the Council and Assembly of the League shall sit as Council and Assembly of Signatories for the purpose of choosing the Court. In our judgment, it is a matter of indifference whether the electoral body bear one name or another. What seems to us the one matter of importance is that the United States should find a way to take its place beside other nations in sustaining the very Court which for years it has advocated.

The World Court is now established, it is functioning, it daily gains in respect and influence. It will go on and continue to gain strength and influence whether the United States adheres to it or not, but it can never attain the great power to which it is destined until the most powerful nation in the world takes its place in this institution of world co-operation and world conciliation. As Secretary Hughes declared in a notable speech before the American Society of International Law, at Washington last December, "It is not too much to say that there will be no World Court if this Court can not be made one; and whether or not it is to be in the fullest sense a World Court depends upon our own action."

Japan's Protest

JAPAN has filed a formal protest with our State Department against the Immigration Act recently passed by Congress and signed by the President. In her protest Japan says that it is not denied that, "fundamentally speaking, it lies within the inherent sovereign power of each State to limit and control immigration to its own domains; but when, in the exercise of such right, an evident injustice is done to a foreign nation in disregard of its proper self-respect, of international understandings or of ordinary rules of comity, the question necessarily assumes an aspect which justifies diplomacy, discussion, and adjustment."

Japan declares that "the sweeping provisions of the new Act, clearly indicative of discrimination against Japanese, have made it impossible for Japan to continue the undertakings assumed under the 'gentlemen's agreement.' An understanding of friendly co-operation reached after long and comprehensive discussions between the Japanese and American Governments has thus been abruptly overthrown by legislative action on the part of the United States. The patient, loyal, and scrupulous observance by Japan for more than sixteen years of these self-denying regulations between the two countries now seems to have been wasted."

Japan bases her protest upon the assumption that the Immigration Act is directed especially against Japan and that it was enacted in entire disregard of the spirit of the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation concluded between the United States and Japan in 1911.

In the present message Japan makes it clear that she is dealing with the spirit of the relations between herself and the United States rather than with the technicalities of international law. Her appeal is based on the statement that "international discriminations on any form and on any subject . . . are opposed to the principles of justice and fairness upon which the friendly intercourse between nations must, in its final analysis, depend." Most unwelcome of all are, she says, "discriminations based on race." She points out that a "strong condemnation of such practice evidently inspired the American Government in 1912 in denouncing the Commercial Treaty between the United States and Russia."

If we remember the situation in 1912 correctly, the protest of the United States was based on the fact that Russia refused to recognize the passports of American Jews who desired to travel in Russia. The case does not seem to be on all fours with the present situation, in which the United States is denying the privilege of a permanent immigration to aliens ineligible for citizenship under our Constitution.

There is nothing in the present note from Japan which would lead a careful reader to think that, if Congress had followed the President's advice and postponed the date upon which the exclusion of aliens ineligible to citizenship went into effect, the President and the State Department could not have adjusted matters with entire satisfaction to both the United States and Japan. It is possible that without Ambassador Hanihara's message our Congress might not have acted with such precipitation. The withdrawal of the unfortunate phrase used by Ambassador Hanihara should have been followed, however, by a willingness to allow the situation to adjust itself in accordance with manners such as should be observed among good neighbors.

The conflict of opinion between the United States and Japan is not one for formal arbitration; it is one to be settled by the same process of arriving at an understanding which friends use in discussing a point upon which they disagree. The attitude of President Coolidge and Secretary Hughes ought to provide assurance of American willingness to arrive at such an agreement. Japanese statesmen and the Japanese press can further a return to a state of amity and trust by recognizing the fact, clearly evident to all Americans, that the action of the United States is in no way caused by any feeling of racial superiority. If Japan felt that American immigration to Japan presented biological and social problems of importance, we believe that America would cheerfully recognize Japan's right to enact just such a law as has recently been placed upon our own statute-books.

The Best-Built Brooklyn Boy Scout

THE evening of Monday, June 9, was set for the awarding of a cup to the winner of a very interesting competition just completed among the "Scouts" of Brooklyn, New York. The cup was awarded by The Outlook to the Scout having the best all-round physique. Many of our readers will remember several articles we have published on this subject, and the method by means of which a boy's physique can be judged according to his type of build. This was the method used in this particular competition.

Perhaps a brief résumé of this method should be given. It is based on the concept that it is just as normal for some to be slender, and others to be stocky, as for others to come between these two extremes as far as type of build is concerned. That is, it is unfair to judge a boy or girl according to his or her weight as compared with the average weight for the same age and height. The average is not necessarily the ideal. A child can be considerably under average weight and still be perfectly healthy. You cannot tell malnutrition by weight. It can

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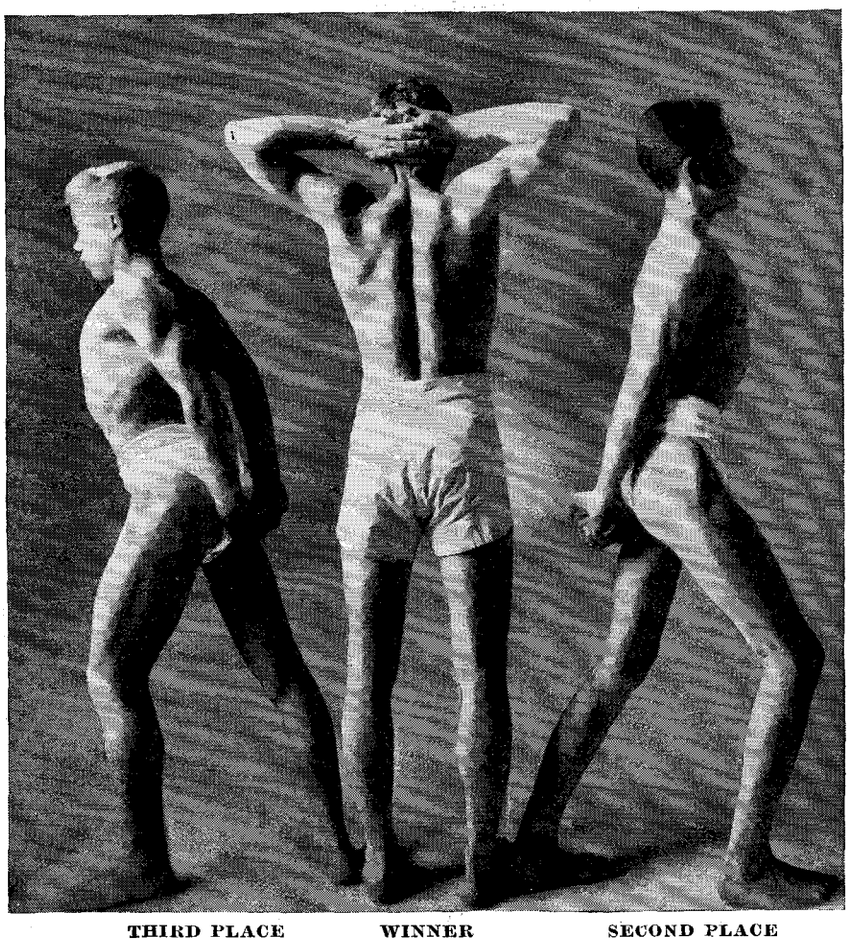

THIRD PLACE WINNER SECOND PLACE

Are they strutting a bit? Well, wouldn't you strut if you had one of the best builds of all the Boy Scouts of Brooklyn?

be told only by a medical examination, and we demand a medical examination for all children, no matter what their weight is!

If the individual is in first-class physical condition, we can consider the weight correct, for that individual. But we can then demand that each boy and girl be given a muscular development suitable for the individual's type of build.

From the measurements of thousands of children tables of measurements have been arranged on a height-weight basis, so that when, for instance, we have a boy's height and weight we can find approximately the same height and weight on the tables, and there will be indicated satisfactory measurements for a boy of that particular height and weight. Thus, you see, he is judged according to his own type of build.

The boy is given 100 to start with; then, as his measurements go above or below the standard, points are added to or subtracted from 100. According to this method, public school average is about 92. This method of scoring makes it possible to distinguish actual improvement from mere growth-gains. As the boy becomes taller and heavier, all the requirements increase in proportion, and he must increase evenly all over to maintain the score he made first. But if his score increases, then we have actual improvement. Thus, you see, two kinds of competitions are possible—for "best physique" and for physical improvement.

Here is the Outlook cup that went to the Brooklyn Boy Scout with the best possible foundation for a sound mind

Since The Outlook first gave publicity to this system it has been taken up by many schools, and by individual Scout troops here and there. The Brooklyn Boy Scouts organization is the first one to take it up officially; and, to stimulate an interest among the boys, a competition for "best physique" was announced. Each Scoutmaster selected the two boys in his troop making the highest score. These high-score boys assembled at headquarters, and finally the best three were chosen. These three boys represent the fairness of this method, for though one boy was a trifle over average weight, another was very considerably over, and one was markedly under average weight, yet all three were beautifully developed for their types of build.

The three highest boys were hardly two points apart. The photograph gives an idea of their beautiful development.

This was the first step. Blanks have been distributed to all the Brooklyn troops, and shortly every Brooklyn Scout will be measured again. He will receive a copy of his measurements, of his score, and of suggested exercises that will bring up deficient muscles. A half-year will go by, and then there will be a remeasurement and a cup will be awarded the boy making the greatest per cent of improvement. One hardly has to imagine the effect of this individual interest in physical perfection.

In our great school systems it is rightly urged that mass callisthenics are not enough, and that there must be individual attention and special exercises. Perhaps this very simple method may be suggestive.

Scout organizations, athletic directors, Y. M. C. A. secretaries, school-teachers, and all those who are interested in the physical development of both boys and girls will be very gladly advised by The Outlook as to the best method of putting through just such a programme as has been carried out by the Brooklyn Scouts. It might be possible for The Outlook to co-operate with such leaders in presenting trophies for competition in the field of physical development.

There is nothing that would please The Outlook more than a chance to co-operate in the work of stimulating boys and girls to intelligent self-development.

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Paris at the Polls

By ELBERT FRANCIS BALDWIN

The Outlook's Editorial Correspondent in Europe

NO excitement. A quiet Sunday in Paris. Yet it was Joan of Arc's Day and election day.

Across the street from my hotel, from 8 A.M. to 6 P.M., men were continually entering a voting-place. As I noted, upon visiting it, they deposited their ballots in much the same way of voting as ours, save that each citizen first presented a *"carte d'électeur"* entitling him to vote. This card is issued through the local mayor's office. Then, his name verified on the register, the voter received an envelope for the insertion of one of the official printed lists of the candidates of a particular party. He took one of these lists, entered a voting compartment and put into the envelope either the official list in its entirety or one modified by the substitution of names from some other lists. Now out again, he dropped the envelope into the ballot urn. His name was then checked off the electoral list.

All the voters seemed sober, steady-going citizens. As they entered the voting-place they paid little attention to the flaring signs grouped near the entrance and plastered over movable *panneaux* or billboards, which are all just the same size and provided by the authorities.

These signs generally began in stirring headlines, with a command like *"Arrêtez-vous"* or an ironical criticism like *"Dupeurs dupés,"* and ending with a *"Vive Poincaré"* or, in one case, a *"Vive l'Anarchie."*

The voters showed surprisingly little disposition to stop and talk after they came out. They walked away with an air of duty done—and now hurrah for the pleasures of a sunny Sunday!

For two years and four months the redoubtable Raymond Poincaré has governed France. The electoral result has now put down the mighty Premier from his seat.

Why was he defeated? Because of his foreign policy? No. His chief opponents, like MM. Briand and Herriot, did not attack the principles of that policy or dissent from him so far as the Ruhr occupation was concerned. Whichever of these two opponents becomes Premier, therefore, the essential lines of the Poincaré policy must remain, it is evident.

Nor was the majority vote so much an adhesion to the doctrines of the Left as it was a condemnation of two policies of the Right:

(1) The apparent let-alone policy in finance, with its lack of restraint on the high cost of living.

(2) The violent reversal of that policy, when it was seen to have been disastrous, by extraordinary executive decrees, reluctantly consented to by Parliament.

Before the recent rapid currency depreciation, the cost of living for the thrifty French was already high enough, in all conscience. In proportion as currency value fell, commodity prices promptly moved up. But as the value of the currency recovered, there was, alas! no corresponding price movement downward. This happened so infallibly that it may be set down as a rule of political economy.

The Poincaré Cabinet, then, owes its defeat primarily to its faulty fiscal policy. M. Poincaré, as both Foreign Minister and Premier, was absorbed by foreign affairs, chiefly the Ruhr problem. He left fiscal affairs to his Minister of Finance. When the franc began to fall, the Minister apparently did not give enough heed to the necessity of a coincident campaign of education to show, especially to the unit of society in France—not the Parisian but the peasant—just why the franc was falling, just why the cost of living was advancing, and how both could be checked only by seemingly incredible measures. These were, indeed, undertaken months later, and then too tardily, though when the Prime Minister realized the situation he carried through his reforms with untiring energy. But their drastic nature, and, above all, the Premier's request for temporary plenary powers, thoroughly scared all the country folk, as, indeed, many city folk, and made them impervious to reason. What, they angrily asked, should a real republic have to do with dictatorial powers?

To these causes perhaps may be added a third—M. Poincaré's recent action in substituting (in a new Cabinet on a broader base than its predecessor) some Ministers hitherto opposed to the policy of the outgoing Cabinet.

The worst of the electoral result is not the loss of M. Poincaré himself, bad as that is. The worst is that the election has resulted in a popular conviction that there may be a weakening of present French internal and external policy; that is to say, in especial, the policy of financial balance and readiness, just achieved at home, and, abroad, of Ruhr pledges for reparations payments.

Such a turnabout came—it is the irony of fate—on the very day that General Ludendorff at Halle reviewed a vast body of German officers and troops affiliated with the "Steel Helmet Band," and where speeches proclaimed again an *un*conquered Germany, the contrary sentiment to the Chancellor's expression the other day. On one and the same date we have thus seen in Germany a reactionary and here a pacifist triumph.

The electoral result will of course encourage the truculent Teutons to new resistance. Some of them will see nothing but red—the present gains of French Radicals, Socialists, Communists, pointing gradually but inevitably to a general amnesty of all war and political prisoners, to a withdrawal of the Ruhr troops, to a restoration of relations with Russia. A pacifist majority in the French Chamber of Deputies will furnish the Teutons more of a pretext than they have had for escaping reparation dues in general and the experts' plan in particular. The more intelligent Germans, however, will hardly anticipate any change of the principles underlying the Poincaré policy, though expecting it to be possibly less rigidly applied.

The first directors of the new French policy will be the Radicals, of the sort called here Radicals-Socialists and not Socialistic-Radicals, as they should be. Their leader, Édouard Herriot, Mayor of Lyons and Deputy in the Chamber, claims entire individual liberty of action for his party, as does, indeed, Léon Blum, leader of the Socialists. These parties are the two chief factors of the Cartel des Gauches. In his paper, "Le Populaire," M. Blum declares that his party will not allow itself to be deprived of the fruits of victory; at the same time, never having participated as a party in any Cabinet, M. Blum says that the Socialists will not do so now. We shall see. Under any circumstances, it is not unlikely that some prominent Socialist like Paul Boncour may be chosen to a high non-Cabinet position such as President of the Chamber. A Radical-Socialist, Gaston Doumergue, is already President of the Senate and thus occupies the second highest post in the state, the Presidency of the Chamber being the third.

Who will be the new Prime Minister?

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Probably M. Herriot, but not impossibly M. Briand or even M. Painlevé; both of them have already occupied that office. The Germans would vastly prefer M. Herriot. They do not forget that four years ago M. Briand, then Premier, authorized the occupation of the city of Frankfort as a counter-irritant to their Government's willful obstruction and violation of treaty terms. Nor do the Germans like M. Painlevé's constant assertions that "I appointed Foch and Pétain."

Well, suppose it to be Herriot.

In foreign policy he is a convert to the Ruhr occupation, it is true, but he stands, alas! for the recognition of Russia. He knows foreign countries well, including our own. After his recent hasty swing around our cities he said: "The United States will be generous if one knows how to talk to its soul." He is also friendly to England, while to Germany he would offer a hand of friendship by strengthening, if possible, every democratic trend there, now "stifled by a disastrous wave of nationalism."

Whatever his views on foreign politics, it is easy to see that he is no average parochial person. He is a man of the world.

In domestic policy he has had large executive and legislative experience, despite his comparative youth. Repeatedly Mayor of Lyons, M. Herriot has been a popular official. That he is a keen and clever student of home as well as of foreign affairs is reflected in his sprightly books, "Agîr" and "Créer," worth any Frenchman's reading, because full of often helpful suggestiveness, even when the reader does not always agree with the author's conclusions.

He has the courage of his convictions. Even if they would save France—as they did—a vast amount of money right away, he did not hesitate to condemn the decree-laws, and he would do away with the one-fifth extra taxation too, even if it did—as it did—redeem France in the recent crisis. He would restore the dubious match monopoly. He would pass laws establishing social insurance, though Treasury funds do not warrant them. He would stop the exercise of the previous Cabinet's notions concerning education. Whether he will follow the advice of ultra-Radical friends as to further measures remains to be seen. Some of those measures are:

(1) The immediate resignation of President Millerand, because he has shown himself a party leader and not a President.

(2) The re-establishment of *scrutins d'arrondissement* (single-member constituencies) in place of the present electoral system.

(3) A complete and total amnesty—already Caillaux is reported to be ready to replace the late lamented d'Estournelles de Constant in the Senate—think of it!

(4) The suppression of the turnover tax by a capital levy.

Be these things as they may, the change from Poincaré and positive safety to somebody else and uncertainty has been having an unsettling effect, as is menacingly shown in a renewed fall of the franc. Sound financiers fear a financial demagogy, an unbalancing of the budget. Let us hope that these fears may evaporate, as they have under not wholly dissimilar circumstances in England.

Paris, May 20, 1924.

Australia's Way with Asiatics

An Interview with Ex-Prime Minister Hughes

By PHILIP COAN

SUPPOSE that this country had only five-sixths as many Japanese among its inhabitants in 1920 as in 1910; suppose further that the number of settlers from Japan had actually been diminished, without in the least disturbing the relations between the two countries; we should then be in the position in which Australia stands to-day.

How did Australia contrive thus to escape a Japanese problem? Ex-Prime Minister William Morris Hughes, who directed the administration of the Australian Commonwealth during the greater part of the period 1910-23, gives the credit to the Australian Immigration Law.

The ex-Prime Minister was asked, while in New York, to explain his Government's policy toward the admittance of Asiatics.

He went back to the beginning. Soon after the great event of 1851, the discovery of gold in Australia, Chinese immigrants had begun to pour in. Their presence had soon made trouble. Race riots such as that at Bendigo in 1854 occurred, and the juries would not bring in verdicts against defendants accused of acts of violence against the Chinese.

It was, of course, the same old story, familiar to Americans during the days of the Chinese influx into California before the Chinese Exclusion Act, and repeated in a milder form on more recent occasions during the anti-Japanese agitation. The separate colonies of Australia, not yet bound together by the federative act of 1901, passed a number of exclusion measures in the 'seventies.

"But when the Federation was formed," explained ex-Prime Minister Hughes, "the British Empire was soon to become an ally of Japan. It was obviously necessary to find a way of limiting immigration into Australia without making distinctions prejudical to the Japanese or, for that matter, to Asiatics. After some negotiations, this was done.

"I want to make one point perfectly clear. The Australian Immigration Law doesn't make any distinctions of color. It is not in form directed against any particular country or race. Nor does it even draw a distinction of color."

"In effect, however, it operates so as to keep out Asiatics?"

"I am coming to that. The first point, however, is that it does not aim directly at any one in particular. It keeps out colored immigrants from within the British Empire as well as those of alien origin, and it keeps out undesirable whites."

Searching among his papers, Mr. Hughes drew forth a copy of the act. He read the provision that gives it its peculiar effectiveness. The provision is simple but sweeping. It empowers the immigration authorities to require the candidate for admittance to write correctly from dictation a passage fifty words long, in any language; the authorities choose the language.

"Japan," he added, "has never protested against our law. How could any nation protest against it? There is nothing in its form to wound the national pride of any nation.

"It is like a gun carried on a man's shoulder," he added, whimsically. "No one can object to a man carrying a shotgun as long as he doesn't point it at any one. Yet he may be going to commit

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suicide, or homicide. On the other hand, he may only intend to shoot rabbits."

"What has been the effect of the law in shutting out Asiatic immigration?"

Again the Prime Minister hunted among his papers. This time he produced a sheaf of figures.

"Australia," he said, "had in 1901 29,907 Chinese; in 1921 the number had fallen to 15,240. The Chinese have always been our most numerous Asiatic immigrants. Natives of Japan have never come to us in numbers approaching those of China. We did, however, have 3,593 Japanese in 1901; their number had fallen to 2,762 in 1921."

"How about half-breeds and Asiatics of the second generation?"

These, said Mr. Hughes, did not form a numerous element. "Very few Asiatic immigrants are women. The men do not usually leave descendants. There are a few thousand Chinese half-breeds and a few hundred Australian-born inhabitants of partly Japanese blood."

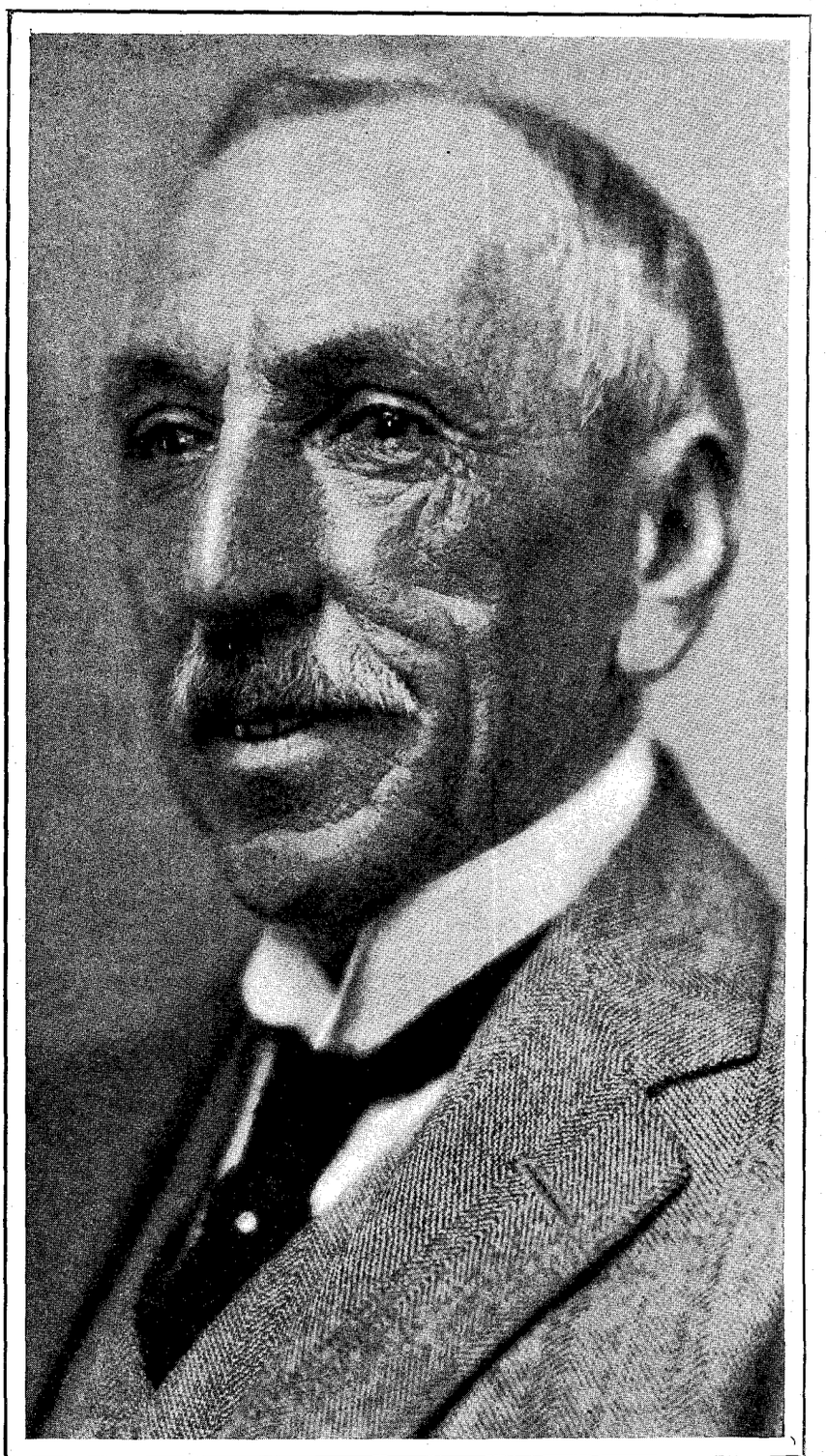
"Do the half-breeds become a part of the Australian population—are they assimilated?"

"To some extent. But the number of such persons is infinitesimal. One of the members of the Commonwealth Senate who died recently was a man of partly Chinese extraction. He was a man of keen mind, who won his place by merit. We in Australia respect the Chinaman for the many good qualities that he possesses. He is hard-working, and his word is his bond. But, as you know, we believe in keeping Australia as a white man's country."

"How was it that the Japanese had not, as in California and in Hawaii, become more numerous than the Chinese?"

"I do not know. There may be several reasons.

"The Chinese take naturally to migration. It does not seem to me that the Japanese, except when driven by extreme pressure, have the least disposition to emigrate. They cannot adapt themselves to extremes of climate as well as the Chinese. At any rate, they have not entered Australia in large numbers."



Wide World Photos

William Morris Hughes, Ex-Prime Minister of Australia

The serviceable vagueness of the language test for the immigrant seemed to call for a little more elucidation. The ex-Prime Minister readily gave it.

"Yes, the law allows the dictation test of fifty words to be applied to the immigrant in any language that we may choose. Welsh or Basque are quite in order." Mr. Hughes named, perhaps not wholly by chance, two tongues with a reputation for a puzzling, not to say forbidding, orthography. The mental vision of a Japanese picture bride taking dictation in the language of the eisteddfods was fantastic.

The pressure to let in immigrants is not always wholly a pressure from without. The law of Australia, that worked so smoothly and thoroughly to check the push of the undesired outsider, might not help much against an urgent demand for his admittance from within. How, Mr. Hughes was asked, had the Commonwealth dealt with internal efforts to have Asiatics admitted?

"Well, that difficulty has hardly troubled us at all. In the first place, we have no extensive settlements of Asiatics. There are a few hundreds at the pearl fisheries at Broome and at Thursday Island. The Chinese about the larger cities are generally engaged at market gardening or as cabinet-makers. They have no political influence."

As for the smuggling in of Orientals, Mr. Hughes said it had never been carried on to any great extent. The steady decline in the number of Asiatics was the best proof of this.

"But," he was asked, "do you not have to deal with a considerable demand among certain classes of citizens for the introduction of Asiatic labor as a necessary means of developing the country's resources?"

"The number of persons who desire Asiatic immigration is inconsiderable. The few men who advocate admitting

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Asiatics want cheap labor. The general run of people feel that the admittance of Asiatics would be a menace to the Australian standard of living, would muddy the blood stream of national life, and be incompatible with our national ideals.

"Two classes of people urge opening the doors freely to immigrants, and they represent the two political extremes. Communists want free immigration, because this policy harmonizes with their internationalist ideals. The reactionary capitalists want it, because they want cheap and servile labor, but the great body of opinion lying between these two extremes is firmly set against it."

Mr. Hughes does not feel that Australia incurs any risk by keeping the Asiatics out of the rich and sparsely populated northern areas of its territory. The northern coasts of the island continent resemble the Pacific coast of the United States in one or two respects, for both lie nearest, in their respective countries, to eastern Asia, and both are separated from the more densely settled parts of their own countries by arid belts. Geographically all this is more emphatically the case with northern Australia than with the Pacific States of our Union. It is notable, therefore, that the best known of Australian statesmen should hold it safer to keep the northern areas of the Commonwealth empty than to admit settlers of Asiatic origin.

"You may think of that region," he said, "as an uncut jewel. On the whole, you stand less chance of being robbed of an uncut jewel than of one already cut."

He did not add, "particularly if the persons most tempted to seize it have been engaged in the work of doing the cutting," but that seemed a fair inference to make from his remark.

"Sooner or later," he concluded, "Australians hope to see the northern parts of their country populated by white men of their own race. Although the area in question lies within the tropics and the climate is hot, it is a dry heat and healthy. People dress there much as they do here in summer. The pith helmet is rarely seen. Cases of sunstroke are almost unknown, even in the hottest parts of the country. There are very few tropical diseases and these are being stamped out. Australia is most emphatically a white man's country. All the pioneering work has been done by white men. For all practical purposes all labor is performed by white men.

"You may see in Australia a sight not to be witnessed in any other part of the world—white men cutting sugar-cane. No work could be more trying under a hot sun. Yet the Australian does it, as he does all other work throughout this great island continent. And the men from the North will compare in physique with any in the world."

Ex-Prime Minister Hughes speaks as a typical Australian. In his belief in excluding the Asiatic, however capable, on racial and economic grounds, and in his assertion that it can be done without resort to methods that will wound any nation affected, he feels that he has his fellow-citizens behind him.

The Old Guard at Bay

Special Correspondence from Washington

By STANLEY FROST

"THE control of the Republican party for the next twenty years is going to be decided at the Cleveland Convention," a very able political operator told me the other day. "Whoever gets hold of the party at the Convention and wins the election will be solid for nearly a generation. Things have come to a crisis at last, and that will be the showdown. There's hardly a doubt that we will come out with a new set of bosses."

This opinion is coming to be widely shared by observers both in and out of Washington. Now that the work of Congress is drawing toward a close and the attention of politicians is focusing on the party conventions, there is a growing realization that the Republican gathering will not be quite so unimportant and innocuous as it will look. There is not likely to be any excitement, to be sure; the nomination of Coolidge has been assured for months, and he can practically dictate the platform. Yet under the smooth surface there will almost certainly take place two things of vital importance to the party and the country.

The first is that Coolidge will come into actual leadership of the party, instead of the merely nominal leadership he has held since the death of President Harding. The second, which will make the first possible, will be that the "Old Guard," which has controlled the party for nearly a generation and has been fighting Coolidge because it could not control him, will be ousted from important influence.

Neither change will be immediately complete, of course, but the Convention should make it clear that the changes have begun. Neither will be permanent, either, unless Coolidge wins in November and has four years to complete them. His defeat would automatically end his leadership and restore power to the old group. Their present gloom over their prospect is lightened only by their belief that he cannot win; but even this thin comfort is torn by the memory that they did not believe he could control the Convention, either.

To understand the exact significance of the change that seems at hand it is necessary for a few minutes to consider the nature and record of the coterie that is now standing at bay. We have come to call them the "Old Guard," but that term defines nothing. They are also called the "conservative group," but that is too inclusive, for there are many "conservatives" who cannot properly be listed with them, though they are all equally under attack from the self-styled "progressives." There is, I believe, a confusion of thought between those who are politicians in the worst sense and those who are merely slow-moving, which has led many people to call themselves "progressives" when what they really want is only clean politics.

Senator Pepper defined the group better when he called it "politically-minded." It is composed of men who play politics all the time and nothing else; whose care is for themselves first, with the party a bad second and the country nowhere; who consider every measure solely on the basis of votes or influence; whose guiding principle is the law of reciprocal back-scratching. They would rather lose an election than share their power; they are the focus of all that is picayune and despicable in politics. They have dickered and dealt and manipulated and traded. They have fought decency as well as progress. They have ruled the party for years and have brought it to its present state.

These are the men who are now in danger. There is no chance that they will be thrown out bodily or all at once, or that even their influence and methods can be dropped in one bundle. The bigger ones will still hold important places

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till fate catches them, one by one; the small fry will be as numerous as ever, and will only gradually shift their allegiance to the new powers. What is likely to happen is that the Old Guard will lose its high command and its prestige, that its power will be reduced so that it can no longer defend itself nor enforce its stratagems, and that it will so be started definitely toward the final exit.

The Shift of Power

THE change to new leadership, then, will not bring any great shift toward radicalism, though the liberal members of the party will have some increase in influence. It is even possible that it will be discovered that much of the "progressivism" of recent years has been merely a club snatched up for the beating of the Old Guard, and that it will be dropped once this use is ended. The new leadership will certainly still be largely conservative; Coolidge is decidedly so, and the men around him are almost all of that tendency. His appointments have included no effort to win "progressive" support except one mild gesture toward Kenyon. Indeed, there is reason to believe that he feels that the pendulum of opinion has begun to swing back from radicalism, even in the Middle West. Quite certainly his leadership will affect the public-spiritedness and the state of mind of the party, rather than its political aims and policies.

This is the change that, unostentatiously, may take place under the surface of the Convention. If Mr. Coolidge does succeed in this last stage of the silent and rubber-tired fight he has been making against the old leaders, if he does become the real chief and depose his opponents, he will also have destroyed the strongest weapon the Democrats now have against him. Incidentally he will have won a personal triumph that is best measured by the fact that Roosevelt failed in the same attempt. Mr. Coolidge has been greatly helped by the death or retirement of many of the ablest members of the old group, to be sure, but his victory will still be notable. The Old Guard cannot yet understand how he has gained so great a hold on the party and the country, nor how their own tactics have brought so much disaster. They do, however, seem to have become reconciled to defeat, at least for the time.

It is one of the amusing elements of the situation—and there are many—that it is their own fight against him that has contributed most to his victory. They have beaten him on one issue after another that has arisen between himself and Congress, where they are in control. But with each victory of theirs his popularity has gained and they have lost ground. The mystery of his popularity remains unsolved, but the fact of it is now accepted. So it has come that to-day he is the one strength the party has; the only chance for victory this fall is for the very men who have done everything possible to thwart and discredit him to about-face, crawl under his wing, and capitalize on his popularity!

The fight to prevent Coolidge's nomination has been so futile that one is likely to forget to-day how determined it was and with what high hopes of success it was started. It goes back, as in Roosevelt's case, to his nomination for Vice-President. He was not wanted by "the crowd," was not one of them. A wave of sentiment for him swept the 1920 convention, based on his action in the Boston police strike, after every one was tired with the struggle that had preceded the nomination of Harding. The bosses had picked Lenroot to please the "progressives," but, both because Coolidge was conservative and because they had no wish for a further fight, accepted him easily.

And Then He Became President

IT was a serious matter for them, though, when he succeeded to the Presidency. He was neither one of the gang nor easy to handle. Moreover, the politicians very sincerely believed that he was not strong and would not make a winning candidate in the desperate situation in which the party found itself. They set to work to beat him in the good old way. Favorite-son candidates were selected in a dozen States, and Johnson was encouraged to get into the race. The idea was to have the Convention divided and deadlocked; then there could be manipulation and the final nomination of some one who was "right."

They felt sure of success. One of the cleverest of the old Senate leaders gave positive assurances as late as January that Coolidge could not be nominated—a measure of the failure of the plans is found in the fact that this man was refused a place on the Coolidge delegation which his own State is sending to Cleveland. The Johnson fiasco is well known; the means by which one after another of the favorite sons came into the Coolidge camp are not so clear, but the collapse was complete. It was one of the worst beatings that the Old Guard has had to take. Perhaps the stealthy silence with which it was done has made it harder for them to bear.

One of the results is that the Old Guard will be weaker in Cleveland than since the Roosevelt days. This is not wholly because of the deaths of Crane and Penrose. When Hanna and Aldrich went, other men stepped into their places; but the gaps since 1920 have not been filled. And those who remain will have little power. Senator Lodge, for the first time in a generation, will have no influential place—not even the chairmanship of a committee. Senators Moses and Borah (the latter not a member of the group but always influential) will not be there. Senators Pepper and Reed, who divide Penrose's mantle, are backing Coolidge. So are Wadsworth and Smoot. The opposition which was so strong five months ago will not have even a rallying point.

This is due not merely to the results of the primaries, but even more fundamentally to the public reaction against the effort made in Congress to weaken the President. There was such an effort; it has not been by accident that every one of his policies has been beaten, all of his demands refused. He would have gained prestige if his leadership had been admitted, and the Old Guard did not want him to have prestige.

"I don't have to support that bird," one Congressman told me. "I was elected behind Harding. This man is just an accident—and temporary."

That was a general attitude, and certainly the Old Guard can claim a fairly complete victory over Coolidge so far as Congress is concerned. The maneuver was successful, too, since Coolidge is now being severely criticised for his "inability to lead his party." They wanted to weaken him, and they did.

Why They Failed to Follow

IN fact, he has never had a chance to control the party, particularly the Congressional group. They owed him nothing, and they did not fear him because they believed his tenure would be short and he could not punish them. A spectacular leader might perhaps have called public opinion to his aid to coerce them, but Congress has proved, as in the tax case, that it can be quite immune to public opinion when it chooses. So Coolidge could do nothing more than define his position. There have been many who thought he should have appealed to the country in fervent speeches, but it is now clear that his own method has been sufficiently effective, though unusual.

The extent to which Congress has discredited itself by opposing Coolidge is, politically speaking, one of the most amazing phenomena of recent years. Washington is only beginning to realize it. On a recent trip into the Middle West I found it the outstanding sentiment of the country. The poll taken by the Boston "Herald," which resulted in a vote of 250 to 1 for Coolidge as against Lodge, shows how strong the tide is running in the East. The slight loss of

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popularity which was evident when the vetoes of the pension and bonus bills were first sent in has disappeared. Even men who were strong supporters of the bonus have admitted that they were convinced against it by his message. Local politicians in several places tell me that every man who voted to override that veto will have trouble. The reputation of Congress has never been so low; Coolidge shines as much by comparison with it as he does by his own light.

There is little doubt that many of the Old Guard leaders would rather be beaten this fall than win with Coolidge. His victory would probably mean their own elimination from any real power. The fact that the attempt to discredit him has been kept up by Republicans in Congress, long after it was clear that he must be the party's one hope of victory, supports the suspicion. And some leaders are now busy putting out "defeatist propaganda" of a kind that will go far toward insuring Coolidge's defeat in November.

The Political Pessimist

"We can't win," one of them told me. "The small fry seem to have hopes, but a cold analysis shows that we are due for a licking. You can't win without votes, and where can Republican votes come from this year? There are really no important issues; people will be voting their grouches and resentments just as they have since the war. That is always bad for the party in power; there is no immediate public grievance against the Democrats, and we have to take it all. Besides, we are in bad shape. The scandals have hurt; the veto of the bonus has cost Coolidge hundreds of thousands of votes; there will be serious reaction from foreign groups against the Immigration Law; the farmers are disgruntled; times are getting harder. The country is unhappy, and we'll get soaked for it!

"Moreover, there are two good reasons why this campaign is hopeless and useless. La Follette will probably throw the election into the House, and La Follette will dictate the result. Besides, it will be just as well for the party not to be in power these next four years. There is almost a certainty of hard times, and the party in control will get the blame. I'd just as soon let the Democrats have it."

This man evidently will not work very hard for a Republican victory, and his advice will keep many lesser politicians from making any real fight. To those he can trust he adds the argument that if Coolidge is beaten—and eliminated—the old crowd can come back in 1928 and be happy.

But it is more than doubtful whether the party as a whole and the Convention in particular will accept his reasoning. There is a wide feeling of confidence due to Coolidge's growing strength. The party followed these same leaders into two needless defeats, and when they did get back into power suffered from a record anything but pleasing. There is little stomach for more of the same medicine.

What Republicans Have to Explain

Even if the party determines to give Coolidge full support, however, it will face difficulties and inconsistencies that will provide many smiles for the onlookers. It must not only support the man it has heckled, and whom it has refused to defend when he was under attack in Congress; it must also support his policies, which it has thwarted and betrayed. It must say as little as may be about its own record of the last four years, and promise many things it has conspicuously failed to perform when it had the chance. It must forget "best minds" and "normalcy." It must also try to act as if it were animated by some other motive than hunger, although it has no other visible purpose. It must produce its usual oil-and-water mixture of conservative and progressive doctrines. All this will be funny enough.

In addition, almost every individual issue will have thorns. The Republicans probably will be spared a fight on the question of attacking the Ku Klux Klan, which promises untold trouble for the Democrats, but this is their only piece of luck. The bonus is far from dead in spite of the passage of the act; there will be demands for cash, bigger subsidies, and other changes. And the Legion must be satisfied! But the country has lost any enthusiasm for the bonus, the men who voted for it have been hearing things from home much to their disadvantage, the man who is to head the ticket is against it. Anything the party can say will be a joke.

Then there is prohibition. Of course the party will put in a strong dry plank. But nothing will be said about the efforts made to prevent any investigation of the well-known fact that the law is not being enforced any too successfully under a Republican administration!

The platform ought to point with pride to the Harding Administration. There will be comfort in the Disarmament Conference and the Budget, but what about the World Court? And no one in either house dared make much defense when the Democratic muckrakers attacked its conduct of the Government.

There must be a strong National defense plank—also one against war. But during the last three years the navy has been allowed to suffer severely, and during the last few weeks there has been a big appropriation for it, thus giving both sides grounds for grievance.

There must be a plank on good government, in spite of the revelations of the Senate inquiries, and the fact that there has been about as little actual cleaning up as possible.

Worst of all is economy! Coolidge will insist on an economy plank. Imagine the grace with which that will be voted by men who in the last few weeks have added four or five billions to the nation's burdens, and saddled 26,000 employees on the pay-roll!

The platform may evade many of these perplexities, but they will be there just the same. They are the G. O. P.'s burden for the year. But perhaps they are of no great importance. "We Americans usually vote for men rather than issues," a State leader remarked the other day. "That is more than usually true this year. The issues are formalities—cooked up. The election will really depend on whether the people want Coolidge or not."

The Convention will make people much more likely to want Coolidge if it does retire the old crowd to comparative obscurity. Their departure from the high places will destroy the strongest argument the Democrats have used recently. They apparently have decided that there is little profit in attacking Coolidge himself. "He may be all right, but if he is elected he'll carry the same old gang with him," is the text that is now being used by Democratic spokesmen all over the country. It is effective. "The Harding crowd will beat him, because the voters can't draw a line between him and his party," a liberal Republican leader complained to me. But if the old crowd is shorn of power, then this attack will lose its force.

The Troubles of the Old Guard

Whatever the Convention does, there will certainly be heavy casualties in the Old Guard. Reports reaching here, and my own observations in the Middle West, show that heavy punishment is being planned for the men who fought Coolidge. "One thing we're going to see to this fall is that Coolidge will have a majority in Congress that will behave," a man of great influence in a dozen States declares with emphasis. "If he can't control the party as it is, we'll blame well give him a party that he can control. We won't stand for any more of this [highly qualified] foolishness. When those mutts come back home they'll find they have got to promise to be [celestially] good, or get out." He said where to.

So the Convention will mark the beginning of the troubles of the Old Guard. But it will not mark the end.

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A Citizen Votes

THIS is how S. B. McCormick, Chancellor Emeritus of the University of Pittsburgh, filled out his ballot in The Outlook's poll of popular opinion.—THE EDITORS.

IN framing a Platform of the People for the guidance of the political parties this coming summer one should have in mind certain fundamental principles which, in my opinion, are important. Among these are:

1. Constitutional government as over against government by bureaus, commissions, etc. This idea also means that we should get away from the tendency toward a democracy back to representative government.

2. Government which will cease to be paternalistic and which will once more assume individual initiative and responsibility.

3. Government which will again recognize the rights of States as well as the rights of the Federal Government, and which will, so far as remains possible, restore to States rights which they have surrendered. If this is not possible, at least resistance to further surrender of these rights should be clearly indicated. The end of statehood means the end of the Republic.

4. Government which will recognize the fact that it is the people who must by their toil pay all the expenses of government of every kind whatsoever. Economy of operation, together with wisdom and justice in taxation, is absolutely essential. When once the people get clearly to understand that it is they, and not rich men and corporations, who must pay for government, pensions, bonuses, and all the rest, they will turn and rend the men in Congress who cheerfully vote away the people's money for anything they imagine to be popular.

5. Government which will, on the one hand, insist upon assuming a proper share of responsibility for world conditions and world betterment, but which shall also resist the pressure to become involved in the political affairs of other nations.

Having in mind the foregoing principles and some others which perhaps are equally important, I should suggest the following answer to the request of The Outlook of March 26 for the platform of 1924:

I—TRANSPORTATION. Voluntary as against compulsory action in the matter of railroads. Personally, I wish a general statute could be enacted whereby the General Government could effectively control all corporations when they should manifest a disposition to act contrary to public well-being, but which would be operative only when necessity required. This would throw back upon corporations responsibility, and at the same time would bring again into being the initiative which our business and industrial leaders are rapidly losing. The Esch-Cummins Act would, with all the rest be merged in this proposed general statute.

As things are, however, I would urge the voluntary consolidation of the railroads and the continuance of the Esch-Cummins Act. The nationalization of railroads would be a calamity. I mark the ballot as follows:

My party preference is
REPUBLICAN ☒

	Approve	Ignore	Condemn
I—1	☒	☐	☐
2	☐	☐	☒
3	☐	☐	☒
4	☒	☐	☐
5	☐	☐	☒

II—AGRICULTURAL RELIEF. Agricultural relief, in the last analysis, depends on the initiative and capacity of the farmers themselves. Government cannot solve their problems. On the other hand, agriculture is a basic industry upon which depends not only the comfort but the actual life of the people. Not for the farmers' sake, therefore, but for the sake of the public the Government must find ways to give absolutely necessary assistance on the same general principle as the Government should give a subsidy to ocean transportation. I do not know enough about the subject, neither do the people in general know enough about the subject, to vote intelligently. Perhaps 1, 2, and 3 would be wise, and I so vote:

II—1	☒	☐	☐
2	☒	☐	☐
3	☐	☐	☒
4	☐	☐	☒
5	☒	☐	☐
6	☐	☐	☒

III—TAXATION. The Secretary of the Treasury has, as I have learned through twenty years of intimate acquaintance, not only a remarkably keen financial mind but equally remarkable complete knowledge of financial laws and facts. When he speaks, he speaks as an expert and not as a theorist. His proposal for tax reduction should be adopted exactly as he has made it, and with an expression of gratitude that the Nation has such a man to guide in a period such as this through which the world is passing. I vote for Mr. Mellon's plan.

III—1	☒	☐	☐
2	☐	☐	☒
3	☐	☐	☒

IV—TARIFF. A protective tariff explains and has been largely responsible for the development of our country. Its continuance as a principle is essential. Its protective features are as important as its revenue-producing features. It should be recognized as a National policy rather than a party policy. Flexible provisions should be incorporated so far as they are practicable. The Fordney-McCumber Tariff Law is good, in spite of denunciations to the contrary. It should be maintained until a better act more fully expressing fundamental principles can be passed. This explains my voting for one and two:

IV—1	☒	☐	☐
2	☒	☐	☐
3	☐	☐	☒

V—BONUS. A bonus bill is bad, not because it costs money, important as this consideration is just now, but because it violates fundamental principle and is fundamentally wrong. The platform should either be silent or else condemn the whole agitation unqualifiedly. Any one who has followed pension legislation since 1865 knows what a back-breaking burden will be laid on the people if a start is made in the direction of a bonus. I, therefore, vote against it:

V—1	☐	☐	☒

VI—PROHIBITION. Police power has properly resided in the States. Under this power the individual States should long ago have destroyed the American saloon—a demoralizing, vicious institution, corrupting and destroying everything it touched. But the Eighteenth Amendment introduced for the first time statutory legislation into the National Constitution—a process which needs only to be continued long enough and the Constitution will cease to exist. It is therefore bad. It is bad also in that, while it destroys the saloon, it also destroys personal liberty, and this last is the greatest misfortune which can befall a free people. It is better to let a criminal escape than to kill a crowd of innocent bystanders in apprehending him.

In the matter of prohibition, therefore, we have an *impasse*. The Amendment cannot be repealed. It can only be ig-

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nored or enforced. A change in the Volstead Act is a fly walking on the ceiling. Personally, I would ignore the subject altogether in the platform. If it is mentioned at all, both parties will urge rigid enforcement. Feeling as I do, I pass it altogether.

VII—General Welfare. Under this subject No. 1 is bad, No. 2 belongs to the States, No. 3 belongs to the States, and possibly also No. 4. Of them all No. 2 is vital and has behind it one hundred per cent of the people. The only question is as to whether Congress should have the power, and therefore whether the Constitution should be amended so as to confer this power.

Personally, I think it would be better in the long run that the States should preserve a remnant of its responsibility, even though for a little while a particular State should refuse to yield to public condemnation of its exploitation of childhood. It would have been far better if this policy had been pursued in other matters, even if the process of reaching proper legislation had been delayed.

I do not vote, therefore, for any proposition under VII:

VII—1.....☐....☐....☐..
2.....☐....☐....☐..
3.....☐....☐....☐..
4.....☐....☐....☐..

VIII—Education. The General Government has gone far enough in Federal aid to education. I vote against extension:

VIII—1.....☐....☐....☒..

IX—Immigration. This question is one which is vital to the Nation. Congress should pass an act which will express a policy and which will contain provisions as effective as possible in carrying out the policy. This policy is not simply one of restriction. It is one of selection. It may include one or all of the five points mentioned, but should certainly include others not mentioned. Dr. Gulick is urging considerations which should be incorporated into the act. Nations which send immigrants who refuse to become American citizens should be actually or practically excluded. The Nordic races should predominate and ultimately should exclude all the others. I imagine it would be safe to incorporate in the act all but No. 4, together with others which are already urged upon Congress:

IX—1.....☒....☐....☐..
2.....☒....☐....☐..
3.....☒....☐....☐..
4.....☐....☐....☒..
5.....☒....☐....☐..

X—Preparedness. I vote for both points under this subject. One or two more should be incorporated.

X—1.....☒....☐....☐..
2.....☒....☐....☐..

XI—Air Mail. I vote for it:

XI—1.....☒....☐....☐..

XII—Labor. Under the general principles enunciated above I should not approve any of the proposals. In the situation No. 1 and a modification of No. 3 might be wise:

XII—1.....☒....☐....☐..
2.....☐....☐....☐..
3.....☐....☐....☐..
4.....☐....☐....☐..

XIII—Ku Klux Klan. I should ignore this question. The things which have given rise to the organization of the Ku Klux Klan exist. The organization itself, intensely patriotic and American, is un-American completely. In such a situation what can be done except to let the organization do its work so far as it can and then die. No good can come from condemning it and certainly no good can come from approving it. Ignore it:

XIII—1.....☐....☐....☐..

XIV—Super-Power. I do not know enough about it to express an opinion.

XIV—1.....☐....☐....☐..

XV—Money. I do know enough about it to express an opinion. The proposal is bad and will be disastrous if adopted.

XV—1.....☐....☐....☒..

XVI—Conservation. I approve:

XVI—1.....☒....☐....☐..

XVII—Merchant Marine. A merchant marine is essential. In this, as in the case of farmers, the Government should act contrary to the general law and should aid so far as necessary in the development of a merchant marine. Moreover, it can give a subsidy without violating a principle, because a Navy is impossible without a merchant marine and a Navy is essential to National safety. I think, therefore, that Nos. 1 and 3 could be incorporated in the platform:

XVII—1.....☒....☐....☐..
2.....☐....☐....☐..
3.....☒....☐....☐..

XVIII—Government Reorganization. I have been consistently opposed to the establishment of a department of public welfare or a department of education, or any other department until there is a complete reorganization of the executive departments of our Government. I am unqualifiedly in favor of this reorganization and unqualifiedly opposed to the development of bureaucratic government. I therefore vote for 1 and against 2:

XVIII—1.....☒....☐....☐..
2.....☒....☐....☐..

I vote for 2 as stated in Outlook.

XIX—Foreign Relations. I am decidedly of the opinion that America should not join the League of Nations or any League of Nations which is based upon or which proposes to exercise force. The ethical conscience of America is well developed and the American people can be trusted to vote right ethically even though the people may make mistakes intellectually. The ethical conscience of the nations of the world, considered in bulk, is not sufficiently developed to justify our putting ourselves in position whereby we may be compelled to act contrary to our own ethical convictions.

On the other hand, America should take the lead in any rational proposal for the substitution of peaceful and judicial settlement of all international differences. The Nation should speak clearly upon questions which will enthrone justice, conciliation, and international law and which will look to the complete condemnation and outlawry of war as a method of settling anything. Like Mr. Roosevelt, I should be perfectly willing to enter an agreement with Great Britain in behalf of the peace programme. This is not, of course, practicable now, but both parties could very well in their platforms put emphasis upon judicial procedure and conciliation, and this would carry with it a world court and a council of conciliation.

As to Secretary Hughes's policy, he seems to be wise in all points of it except perhaps sale of arms to foreign governments. In the matter of cancellation of foreign debts, I am strongly opposed to it, because cancellation is not a proper treatment of a debt. Europe owes America more than ten billion dollars. I should prefer to lend Europe another ten billions and put Europe where it could eventually pay both the old debt and the new debt rather than to cancel the debt which now exists.

I have, therefore, to mark the points of XIX according to the above opinions:

XIX—1.....☐....☐....☒..
2.....☒....☐....☐..
3.....☒....☐....☐..
4.....☐....☐....☐..
5.....☐....☐....☐..
(*a*)..☒....☐....☐..
(*b*)..☒....☐....☐..
(*c*)..☐....☐....☒..
(*d*)..☒....☐....☐..
(*e*)..☒....☐....☐..
6.....☐....☐....☒..

XX—I have no suggestions to make as to further planks in the platform.

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Tolstoy's Home and the Russian Revolution

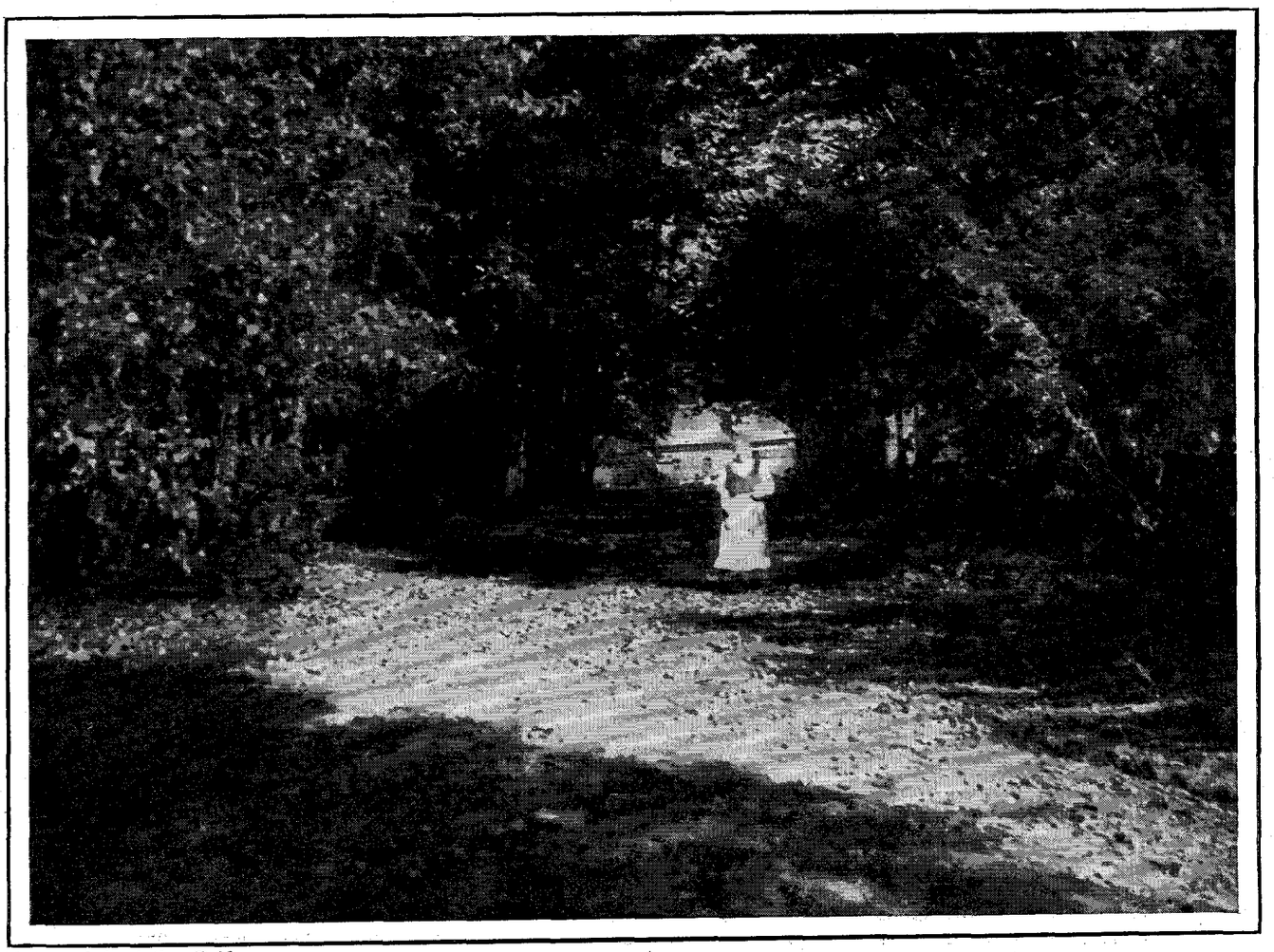
By ARTHUR RUHL

YASNA POLIANA, the country estate on which the great Tolstoy lived and worked, and from which he went out into the storm on his last tragic journey, has not suffered as a result of the Russian Revolution. Like other landed property, it was nationalized at the time of the Bolshevik Revolution, but was not damaged in any way, and is now preserved, under the Soviet Government's Department of Education, as a museum, as nearly as possible in the condition in which Tolstoy left it.

The sister of Count Tolstoy's wife, Mme. Tatiana Andreevna Kusmenskaya (the original of Natalia in "War and Peace"), now lives at the estate with Tolstoy's daughter Alexandra, Mme. Denesenko (his niece), and several other connections or friends of the Tolstoy family, and together they attend to its care and to the reception of visitors. The house itself is now a museum. Everything in it—Tolstoy's desks and writing materials, bedroom, the family drawing-room, etc.—are preserved as nearly as possible as they were left by Tolstoy himself. Visitors are admitted on certain days in the week, but as Yasna Poliana is a night's journey southeast of Moscow, in the "government" of Tula, and tourists in Russia are scarce these days, a visit to the old Tolstoy home is still something of an adventure.

The whole estate, including the house, is organized into what is called an "artel" —a sort of co-operative group which cares for the property under the employ of the Government. The *artel* has certain privileges not shared by the everyday individual in Russia nowadays. Its members do not pay the usual taxes to which peasants are subject, and they can use the products of the farm. In return they are expected not only to care for the property but to go ahead with its development along Tolstoyan lines. A school and workshop is now being built for the use of the children of the neighboring peasants, and it is the intention to make the whole place a cultural center eventually, with grammar and high schools, and possibly even a university. The *artel* is under the supervision of Alexandra, the very energetic youngest daughter of Count Tolstoy.

The village adjoining the estate shows the influence of Tolstoy's interest in the peasants. It is much cleaner and more attractive than most Russian villages. Readers of "A Russian Proprietor" will recall the difficulties the young nobleman in that sketch had in improving the outlook and living conditions of the peasants on his estate. It was largely autobiographical.



Photograph by Arthur Ruhl

Yasna Poliana—A shaded lane leading up to the house. This lane leads down through the woods to the grave. In the picture one of the peasant servants of the present household is seen approaching down the lane

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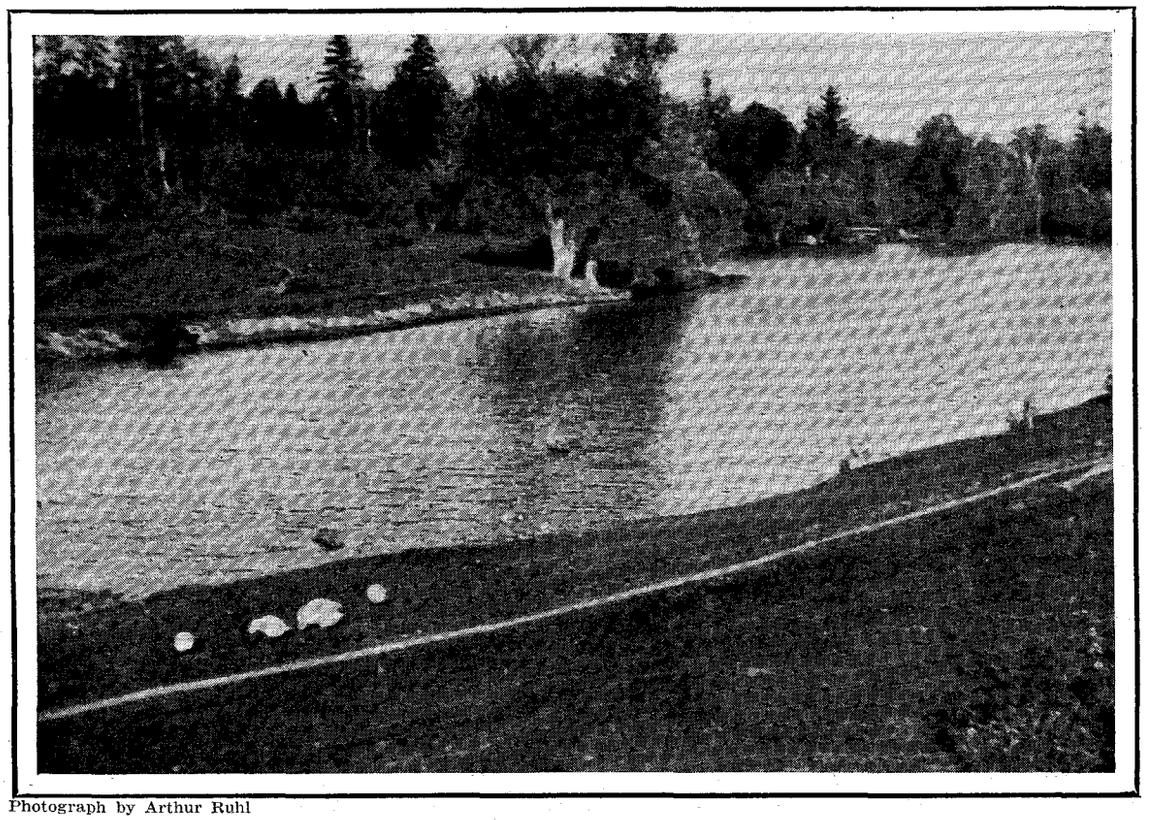

Photograph by Arthur Ruhl

The pond near the house. The entrance gate is to the right-hand side of this photograph; the barns are up the hill to the left; and the house itself is over the orchard trees in the center background

Photograph by Arthur Ruhl

Near the center (the elderly lady with cane), Mme. Elena Sergeevna Denesenko, a niece of Tolstoy's and now one of the caretakers of the estate. The woman with the baby is the wife of one of Count Tolstoy's grandsons, and the baby is a great-grandson. The others in the group are members of the Quaker relief mission in Russia, visiting the estate for the day and being taken about by Mme. Denesenko

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Édouard Herriot

A Growing Figure on the Stage of International Politics

By EDWARD EYRE HUNT

ÉDOUARD HERRIOT, Mayor of Lyons, Deputy for the Department of the Rhone, is leader of the largest party in the new French Parliament which has just been elected to serve for five years. Whether he succeeds Poincaré as Premier or not, he is sure in any event to be a conspicuous figure in his country's politics and a figure in the politics of the world.

To the majority of Americans he is only a name, although he has visited this country. During the war he was brought into close contact with Americans in France, and did not hesitate to admire them and to learn from them. He was a warm supporter of the American Red Cross in its work for French civilians. Public health and child welfare work, after the American plan, appealed to him as elementary political common sense, and since the war he has declared that the future politics of France must give first place to health and sanitation.

Herriot is a relatively new type in politics. At one time he was a Professor of Economics in the University of Lyons; he is an author of great distinction; he has even won the "Daily Mail" prize for originating a new rose! The scholar in office we have long known, but the man of technical training in high place is still a novelty. Herbert Hoover in this country is an example of the technician in conspicuous public office; Herriot in France represents a similar training in the field of sociology and economics. Both Herriot and Hoover in their secret hearts believe, I suspect, that technicians, and not politicians, should run the world. They believe that science, and not legal precedent, points the way to reconciliation of conflicting industrial and social interests.

Herriot has phrased a part of his creed as follows: "The old political concepts to which we have fallen heir and which, after having dominated ancient civilizations, are stretched out to embrace our modern nations, postulate two great classes always armed against each other —the 'haves' and the 'have-nots.' The worker and the employer, leaving the same shop, turn their backs on each other to take up again their class attitude and point of view. . . . They belong in reality to the same class, to that new class which little by little must grow self-conscious and range itself under this banner: *the class of labor and production.*"

Keystone

Édouard Herriot

In the same paper from which I take this quotation, contributed to the "Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science," Herriot says: "Science belongs to no class and to no country. . . . Throw to the winds the theories which have been born in the heads of political metaphysicians. Never since the world began have we been able to find happiness through the wonder-work of magicians. There is only one kind of white magic—intelligent work. . . . Demand not only your part of the profits but your part of the science. Society, fortunately, will never believe in the equality of the wise and the foolish."

Every week or two Herriot contributes a leading article to the Parisian newspaper, "L'Information." These "leaders" are characteristically well written and liberal. They cover topics of political, social, literary, commercial, and scientific interest. I recall in the past few years papers of his on as widely differing subjects as Henriette Renan, the commercial situation in Soviet Russia, the success of the Dawes Committee, the charm of Rumania, the moral position of Germany, Pascal, the Turkish Republic, the British Labor Government, impressions of the United States—none of them written from a narrowly nationalistic point of view, all of them distinguished for moderation and good temper. Herriot is

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one of the small band of leading Frenchmen who believe that their countrymen may learn much of benefit to France from other countries. He is not even chauvinistic as regards Germany. In certain fields France must go to school to Germany as well as to the other great nations, he maintains, not simply in order to imitate her; she must learn to surpass her.

At the end of the World War he warned his countrymen that victory has wings and flies from those who think they have won her unless they constantly win her anew; that the real victory must be secured in France, and not abroad, by the labor and wisdom of the French people. He then wrote: "On the Acropolis of Athens, at the right of the Propylées, the Greeks once dedicated a temple to Nikê Apteros, that is to say, the Wingless Victory. In thus mutilating her, they thought they could forever keep among them the young goddess who makes men's hearts to leap up. When the sailor, rounding Sunium, saw sparkling in the distant light the lance or the feathered helmet of Athena Promachos; when the passer-by gazed at the immutable threat of her right arm holding the javelin, they believed, both of them, in the eternity of their triumph. But the day came when they learned that they could not chain up Victory by clipping her wings. . . . There is no durable triumph except the success which is ceaselessly recreated by effort."

As I wrote at the time of its appearance, his brilliant book, "Créer," is an extraordinary effort to strike a trial-balance of the total resources of France and her colonies—resources moral as well as physical. It advocates a total transformation of national policy through science. Its doctrine is "produce or perish." In the light of a sweeping survey, it indicates what the author believes is to be the future of reconstructed France. It discusses her depopulation, her criminal neglect of the most elementary means to combat the declining birth rate, the rising death rate, tuberculosis, and alcoholism; her great mineral resources, especially coal, aluminum, and fertilizer phosphates; her lack of iron ore; her immense and undeveloped water power; her undeveloped railways and waterways; her awful neglect of the means of transporting thought, so that she holds the lowest place among civilized nations in her use of the post, telegraph, and telephone; her inadequate ports; her enormously hopeful agricultural prospects; her small merchant marine; her fisheries; her need of industrialization, and especially of scientific management; how she must build her commercial and financial organizations to meet future needs; the work of her liberal professions; political reform; even the renaissance of art and the creative rôle of France abroad find their place in the book.

That such a man now comes into power may mean great things for France.

A Camp Where the Girls Boss

By ALICE MARY KIMBALL

You can lead girls to kitchens, but you cannot make them cook. That is perhaps the popular impression of the very much younger generation. Camp Andrée has found a way to persuade girls to chop wood, build fires, go marketing, and cook and serve their own dinners. Let Miss Kimball tell you about it

YOU can lead a rebellious fifteen-year-old daughter to a well-appointed kitchen, shining with well-scoured pots and pans and modern with apparatus for saving time and steps. You can lead her to a kitchen which home economics experts have pronounced impeccable—but you cannot make her work. At least, you cannot make her body move with the co-operation of her spirit.

So Mrs. Foster had discovered. Her Patty was a problem. She hated everything that was good for her, from going to bed early to learning to make biscuits. A feather-weight of compulsion, and her temper exploded like a bomb. The word "ought" uttered by her mother in a precise, well-modulated voice was like a lighted match to a fuse. This was sad, for "ought" was the pampered darling of Mrs. Foster's vocabulary.

"The girl of to-day ought to understand that in years to come life will make exacting demands upon her," she would say. "She will probably be called upon to be a wife, a mother, and a professional woman. She can't begin too early to lay the foundations of good health. She should learn, too, to cook and run a home."

How true! How reasonable! But it made no impression on Patty.

"Oh, mother! You talk like a darn old woman's club!" the girl would burst out, angrily, tossing her mane of daffodil-colored hair.

Patty isn't the literal name of the girl of whom I write. She is a real girl, however, and her actual name is on the enrollment list of Camp Andrée, the experiment station camp of the Girl Scouts, near Briarcliff Manor, in Westchester County, New York. There Patty spent the summer. When her mother visited the camp, she was astonished to see her young hopeful cheerfully and competently chopping kindling wood, pounding nails, sawing, building fires, running errands, marketing, cooking, and serving. Her daughter's pugnacity was no longer expended in warfare with the older generation. It was harnessed nicely to the job of subduing her physical environment and promoting her own personal development.

Observation showed Mrs. Foster why Andrée had succeeded where she had failed. At Andrée the word "ought" was taboo. No adolescent girl, over-sensitive, emotional, and full of a healthy longing to be an adult, was ever treated like a child. Never was she ordered about, preached at, improved, or educated against her will.

Camp Andrée is more than a camp. It is a venture in modern education founded on the principle of the enrichment of the personality through self-willed activity. It aims not only to repair the ravages of speeded-up, nerve-strained, over-stimulated city life, but to give the girl camper new and useful habits of thought, feeling, and behavior. The object of its programme is the harmonious development of the individual girl.

Mrs. Jane Deeter Rippin, National Director of the Girl Scouts, believes that this can best be achieved by breaking away completely from "mass" or "summer boarding-house" camping. She has planned at Andrée a camp in which the clatter and strain of crowds is absent. There is no tent colony, no noisy mess tent, no arbitrary regimentation, no hard and fast régime into which every girl

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must fit, willy-nilly. The girls of the camp community are divided into small, intimate families of eight. They live, each with a camp counselor, in tiny individual encampments, out of sight and hearing of each other. Each family ("patrol" it is called in Scout language) does its own work and plans its own affairs. It elects a representative to the Court of Honor, the council of girls which governs the camp.

The place of the adult in this self-governing community of girls is to be on hand when wanted, but not to interfere. The camp counselors are jolly, young-hearted girls in their early twenties. They have had special training in the counselors' course at Andrée for the task of being responsible, but not "bossy" big sisters. Like the teachers in a kindergarten or modern school, they must wait in patience while their young charges fumble, make mistakes, and learn by doing.

The new girl who arrives at Andrée on the motor bus is likely to think at first she has come to the wrong place. No conventional camp scene greets her eye. She sees no field or hillside dotted with tents, no groups of girls being herded about. The bus draws up to an old farmhouse. Fields and wooded hills dip away as far as her eye can reach. The veeries are singing, and no human noises frighten them away.

She is taken down a fern-fringed path to her tent. She is made acquainted with the members of her camp family.

Her encampment—perhaps it is named Gypsy Rest or Fairy Ring or the Cedars—consists of three tents: two large tents, each sheltering four girls, and a smaller tent for the counselor. There is a camp-fire place, a cook-stove with a canvas "fly" over it, a "cache" in the earth which serves as a refrigerator for perishable goods, and a concrete dining-table. The wash-house near by is supplied with running water.

All around is beautiful countryside. There is a brook near by. She can hear it. Through the birches she catches a glimpse of blue lake water.

Similar encampments are scattered over the camp grounds. There are 144 acres of land, with a lake for swimming and canoeing, clear streams, woods, many varieties of flowers, ferns, and birds, and occasional glimpses of furry animals, including red foxes and wild deer. The camp property was presented to the National Headquarters of the Girl Scouts by Senator and Mrs. William A. Clark, in memory of their daughter, Andrée, who was a Girl Scout, and who died suddenly at the age of sixteen. After her death her parents found her diary, and discovered how important to Andrée had been the comradeship and the self-expression she had found in the activities of her Scout troop. Her mother decided as a memorial to give to the Girl Scouts a place where plans of outdoor life for girls might be worked out for use in girls' camps throughout the country.

(C) Underwood

Dishwashing Hour

To each little camp family of the Andrée community come the solitude, the opportunity for intimate human contacts, the quietness, and the healing peace which cannot be found in crowds. Here is space in which the spirit may breathe and grow. Here, too, in the words of Walt Whitman, a personal deed has room.

In large masses, regimented and arbitrarily disciplined, individuals feel weak and timid. They are afraid of expressing initiative and originality. Inferiority feelings paralyze personal contributions. In the small Andrée unit, however, each girl is a power. Her ideas may modify the camp programme. On a fine leaf-smelling day, with the wind in the tossing branches and the water a clear, electric blue, she may propose a hike, and, if the notion meets with favor, a hike there is, although previous schedules may have called for something different.

Suppose the air is warm, the moon is big, and the light is lovely on the lake. Fourteen-year-old Helen, who hates going to bed at nine, proposes a moonlight swim. It is put to a vote. The yeas have it. The family will stay up an hour later than usual nd take cat-naps in the morning instead of getting up at the regular hour.

In the Middle West last summer a friend of mine overtook three girls hiking in the dust and gasoline smells of a State road on a broiling August day. Their faces were tense and perspiration stained, and they were still five miles from their destination. They refused a lift in the car. They were from a near-by girls' camp, they explained, and they were woefully behind with their hiking. Now, if each was to win camp honors, she must make up the required number of miles, just as she would make up a missed examination at school.

Such a spiritless and futile performance would have been impossible at Andrée, where activities are elective and so varied that they appeal to every kind of girl, from the motor-minded tomboy to the introspective dreamer. The latter doesn't have to force herself to do jumping or high diving. She may win honors in art, music, composition, bird-hunting, botany, elementary zoölogy, or astronomy. Other types of girl will find satisfaction in classes in swimming, diving, life-saving, camp craft, or athletics.

The educational activities of the camp are not so labeled. Mr. Gerald Thayer, the naturalist, appears at an encampment and says, mildly, "Who wants to go for a ramble?" The girls who accompany him learn fascinating secrets about birds, plants, insects, and rocks, but not one of them knows she has been taking a nature-study lesson.

Even the doing of work around the camp is made to contribute to a girl's sense of her worth and dignity.

To be off in the woods, cut loose from family apron-strings, and dependent on herself for food, shelter, warmth, cleanliness, and the good will of others—this is being weaned from babyhood. All the

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unfolding forces of the child-woman's nature approve. The grown-ups at the camp never boss. They hand out responsibility instead.

If a girl shirks or does slipshod work, she pays at once in personal inconvenience. Does she scamp the job of setting up her tent? Down it comes, some windy night, and hits her on the head. Does she loiter too long at the delightful swimming beach and delay starting dinner? She must stand the reproaches of the outdoor appetites of her patrol, her own included. No camp counselor needs to say to a delinquent: "Mary, you ought to do better. You are a lazy, selfish pig." The laws of nature attend to that in the woods, including the law of Mary's own human nature, which suffers under the disapproval of her group.

Board at Camp Andrée costs $10 a week. On entering the camp, a girl exchanges her money for camp currency. With this camp money she buys supplies at the camp store when her turn comes for marketing.

Two girls must prepare food every day. Nobody comes around telling them to peel the cucumbers in time and to be sure not to let the water boil down in the potato kettle. No fairy godmother appears in the cool of the morning with a ready-made menu. So a pair of grave young things in middy blouses and bloomers seek out the camp counselor and the camp dietitian to talk over the day's bill of fare. The menus are written, cook-books are consulted, recipes are scratched down on the back of a letter from home. Orders for groceries are written on a blank. The two girls whose daily task is marketing take baskets under their arms and trudge off toward the camp store.

Not only the cooks and marketers have tasks to do. In one corner of the camp two bobbed heads are bent over a gleaming array of camp lanterns. Chimneys are washed, wicks are trimmed. These are the sanitary officers, who must also pick up papers about the camp, wash out the refrigerator, see that washhouses and latrines are in good condition. The two remaining girls of the patrol must wash the dishes after each meal. Their job drags on after the others have finished, so a comb and harmonica orchestra is organized to cheer them up.

After a summer at Andrée a girl is competent to plan meals and cook for a family of eight or more.

When is drudgery not drudgery? When it is felt to be a part of a worth-while creative undertaking. The girls are not unhappy as they clean the dishes, scrub out food receptacles, or go for milk on a sopping morning; for these tasks, undoubtedly disagreeable in themselves, are enlivened by the excitement of making a big thing go. To be in on the job of running her own camp household and to be a factor in the administration of the camp as a whole is a good-sized undertaking, and it gives the young ego a wholesome feeling of importance. The camp activities are carefully planned, however, not to overtax the strength of growing girls. Heavy lifting, overexertion in athletics, strain of any kind, are avoided. The routine is a rhythm of exertion and rest.

Each patrol unit elects a leader. The leader presides over meetings of her patrol, and also is the representative of her group at the Court of Honor. No adult can attend the Court of Honor without an invitation. There is a competent camp staff, however, at the disposal of the girls whenever they feel the need of help.

The vote of the majority determines the collective life of the camp; but no enthusiasm for voting and governing is allowed to obscure the fact that Camp Andrée is a camp for the individual girl. The programme allows at least two hours of free time each day. In free-time periods each Scout is her own mistress. She can dream by the edge of a stream, read a book, write a letter home, follow her personal hobby, however eccentric, talk secrets with her chum, or simply lie in the sun doing nothing and feeling as much a part of nature as a rock or a weed.

Two or three times a week the whole camp community gets together. There are weekly dinners, followed by great council fires, with stories, songs, dances, travel talks, or poetry reading. An aquatic meet or land athletic meet occurs every week. The encampments take turns in furnishing entertainment in the natural outdoor theater, where the stage is a big gray rock and the footlights are camp lanterns placed on top of smaller rocks in front. One-act plays, charades,

(C) Underwood

Early morning at the Camp market

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musical shows, and pageants are given throughout the summer. Costumes are devised from dyed cheesecloth, bright-colored blankets, colored paper, and gay goldenrod or black-eyed Susans.

Camp Andrée has a winter season, for the Girl Scouts as a part of their health work are trying to get girls to be friendly with winter. The week before Christmas the girls come back, or as many of them as possible. They are lodged in the farm-house which serves as a combined care-taker's house and hospital. They divide themselves into small units, elect leaders, and assign the work, just as they do in summer. For recreation there are coasting, skating, snow-shoeing, and skiing, and the study of winter animals and birds. Games, charades, and taffy-pulls make the evenings fly.

The significance of Andrée lies in the fact that it is bound to have an influence on the vacation life of the hundreds of thousands of American girls who go to camp in summer. Mrs. Rippin expects to develop valuable leaders of girls' movements at the camp counselors' course which is given annually at Andrée and from the Andrée girls themselves. The Andrée plan was studied at the camp leaders' course at Teachers College, Columbia University, this year, and the camp is visited annually by girls' leaders from various parts of the United States and from abroad. The 283 Girl Scout camps, in which 25,000 girls annually spend the summer, are reorganizing, whenever practicable, to permit the use of the Andrée small-unit system.

The Faith of Fighting Men

The Story of H. M. Destroyer Shark in the Action off Jutland Bank, May 31, 1916

By COMMANDER F. J. CLEARY, U. S. N.

FROM an article titled "The College Man and the Church" which appeared some months ago in The Outlook, I quote the following:

"The college man to-day can only be attracted by a man's religion, a religion with a challenge and a duty. . . . The college student is pressing forward, trying to live his faith—his positive, practical, rational faith summed up in the words of the prophet, 'What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?'"

The ship's company of the Shark showed in themselves such an example of this positive, practical faith that I am impelled to set it forth.

H. M. S. Shark, Commander Loftus W. Jones, R. N., commanding, went into action about 4:45 P.M., May 31, 1916, with a complement of 91 officers and men. Of that number six enlisted men survived to see the dawn of June 1. From the details remembered by the six survivors the following record of the action was obtained.

At 2 P.M., May 31, destroyers Shark, Acasta, Ophelia, and Christopher, with light cruisers Chester and Canterbury, were acting as a submarine screen for the Third Battle-Cruiser Squadron, steaming south in advance of the British battle fleet. At 2:20 P.M. radio messages were received that the enemy force was at sea. The ships' companies were ordered to "action stations" and a course taken to intercept the advancing enemy, full speed being ordered. At about 5:20 P.M. the first sounds of firing were heard, and at 5:40 the haze to the southwestward was pierced by flashes of gun fire, and shortly thereafter German light cruisers and destroyers became visible, heavily engaged with an unseen opponent to the westward. The German destroyers, ten in number, turned to launch a torpedo attack at the Third Battle-Cruiser Squadron, and the four British destroyers headed for the enemy destroyers to break up this attack, which they succeeded in doing. As the four British destroyers turned to rejoin their own cruisers, three German battle-cruisers appeared out of the mist and concentrated their fire on the four British destroyers and two light cruisers.

A fragment of a shell destroyed the Shark's bridge steering wheel, wounding the coxswain, Griffin. The captain ordered the after steering wheel to be manned, and with coxswain Griffin and signalman Banham ran down the bridge ladder and along the shell-torn upper deck. The enemy was using shrapnel, and the captain was wounded in the thigh and face, the coxswain being wounded a second time, and falling insensible; the captain stumbled aft, endeavoring to stanch the flow of blood with his hands, only to find that a shell had burst inside the engine-room, completely disabling the main engines and the steering gear. The forward gun under the command of Sub-Lieutenant Vance had been blown away, and only one survivor of the gun crew lay badly wounded amid the wreckage.

The Shark was lying disabled under a heavy fire, and Lieutenant-Commander Barron brought his destroyer, the Acasta, between the Shark and the enemy's fire and signaled if he could be of assistance. The captain of the Shark was then encouraging the crews of the midship and after guns. The signalman repeated to him the Acasta's signal, and he replied, "No; tell him to look out for himself and not get sunk over us." This was Commander Jones's last signal to his destroyer division; the Third British Battle-Cruiser Squadron vanished into the mist and the enemy closed in upon the Shark. The after gun was put out of action almost immediately, and its crew killed and wounded. Amid a hail of shrapnel and flying fragments the remaining torpedo was being loaded into the tube when it was struck by a shell and exploded, causing heavy casualties. Only one gun now remained in action; the ship was settling and every moment shook with the impact of a fresh hit. The upper deck was a shambles, and the dead, mingled with shattered wreckage, were blown hither and thither by the blasts of exploding shell; projectiles passed screaming overhead or, falling short, flung great columns of water onto the Shark.

One by one the wounded crawled brokenly into the lee of the casings and funnels in attempts to find shelter from the bursting shells and flying fragments. Among them knelt the surgeon, endeavoring single-handed to cope with his hopeless task. When last seen, although himself severely wounded, he was bandaging a man who had lost an arm when the torpedo exploded.

The enemy had closed in to short range. The captain ordered the collision mats over the shot holes and every attempt made to keep the ship afloat. This was done under the direction of Lieutenant Donnell, who maintained a cheer-

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ing spirit of indomitable pluck to the last. The coxswain, who had recovered consciousness, although half blinded by the wound in his head, superintended a party of men who were preparing the life rafts for launching. The midship gun, under the command of Midshipman Smith, had been maintaining a steady fire; the supply of primers began to run short, and Gunner Gale, though badly wounded, crawled below and brought up a new supply, shortly after which he was killed. Signalman Hodgetts was blown overboard by the blast of an exploding shell; a few moments later his dripping figure climbed aboard and he resumed his place at the gun. By a curious freak of chance, he was blown overboard a second time, and a second time he clambered back to his post of duty, to be blown overboard a third time to his death. The crew of this gun was finally reduced to two men, Seaman Howell and Seaman Hope. Midshipman Smith trained the gun while Hope loaded and Howell fired. The captain stood beside the gun, giving the range. Howell, who had been severely wounded, eventually dropped from loss of blood, and the captain took his place. A moment afterwards he was himself struck by a shell which took off his right leg above the knee. He lay on the deck in rear of the gun while the coxswain and stoker Hammell improvised a tourniquet from a piece of rope and a fragment of wood. While they were endeavoring to stop the bleeding the captain continued to direct the firing of the gun. As his strength ebbed he was distressed lest his ship be captured, and, seeing the German destroyers approaching, he gave orders to sink the Shark. However, the gun fired another round, and, realizing that the ship was still capable of resistance, he countermanded the order, adding, "Fight the ship."

The main gaff had been broken by a shot, and the flag hung limp against the mast. His mind turned to that emblem of all that he was dying for so gallantly, for he asked faintly what had happened to the flag. He was told that it had been shot away, and in great distress he ordered another to be hoisted. Seaman Hope climbed the mast, detached the ensign and handed it down to Midshipman Smith, who bent it to a set of halyards and hoisted it at the yard-arm. The captain, seeing it once more flying clear, said, "That's good," and appeared content.

The end was now near. The bows of the Shark had sunk until the forward funnel was awash and the waves were lapping over the hull, and as two German destroyers had approached to within a few hundred feet with the intention of administering the *coup de grâce*, Commander Jones gave his last order to his men, "Save yourselves." He was helped into the water by the coxswain and some of the others, and floated clear of the ship with the support of a life-belt; the survivors of the crew, about twenty in all, swam toward the rafts and pieces of floating wreckage. Two torpedoes struck the Shark amidships, and she lurched violently to starboard, flinging overboard the dead and wounded remaining on the deck. Her stern rose until it was almost perpendicular, and she sank with her colors flying. The captain was placed on one of the rafts and propped up in a sitting position. While this was being done he attempted to smile and shook his head, saying, "It's no good, lads." Shortly after the Shark sank the British battle-cruisers swept past in pursuit of the enemy. The captain asked if the pursuing ships were British, and on being told that they were, said, "That's good." Not long afterward his head fell forward and his gallant spirit went aloft.

The second raft had been so damaged by shell fire that only two men could be accommodated upon it. The two most severely wounded were helped on it by others, all of them wounded, who clung to the edge, among them Lieutenant Donnell. Seaman Smith, who was only slightly wounded, swam over from the other raft to render assistance to the badly wounded. Lieutenant Donnell, who had unfailingly cheered the men, asked if any could still sing, and then without faltering, himself began: "Nearer, my God, to thee."

Those who had the strength joined in as they clung, submerged up to their shoulders in the icy water; and so, one by one, death overtook them, Seaman Smith alone surviving more than a couple of hours.

The other raft had six occupants, and, while it was still light, the British battle fleet was sighted through the mist, and the drenched wounded men cheered it as it passed five miles away. Signalman Banham lapsed into delirium at times, and finally said, "I must have a sleep. Let me get my head down." Seaman Hope endeavored to keep him in a sitting position, but he repeated, "I must sleep," and as he stretched himself on the bottom of the raft the ruling instinct of the naval service stayed with him through the mists of death: "Give me a shake if the captain wants anything," he said, and his loyal spirit passed to join that of his captain, of whom he thought even unto death.

Shortly after midnight the lights of a steamer were sighted. Seaman Howell was able to make a carbide flare, and they were rescued by the Danish S. S. Vidar. Seaman Smith was picked up from the other raft and Petty Officer Filleul was rescued from the water as he was losing consciousness. No other survivors were found. The King awarded Commander Loftus W. Jones the Victoria Cross posthumously and the six survivors were decorated with the Distinguished Service Medal.

A few weeks after the action a body was washed ashore on the coast of Sweden near the village of Fishbackskie, and on the 24th of June, 1916, the fishermen of that village buried in their churchyard Commander Loftus Jones, V.C.R.N., Captain Courageous and Gentleman Unafraid.

This narrative of the ship's company of his Majesty's ship Shark could have been written, under similar circumstances, of any ship's company in the British navy or in the United States Navy, for the discipline in the British navy and in our navy is built upon a common loyalty of the officers and men to each other, to their navy, and to their country. It could not have been written of the ships' companies of the Imperial German navy, for their discipline was built on the fear of the men of their officers and of the "All Highest" Kaiser, a condition which was shown by the following fact: When the Imperial German Government began to stagger under the hammer blows of the Allied armies, the German High Seas Fleet was ordered to sea to engage the Grand Fleet, at that time including a squadron of United States battleships, with the plan of having the heavy German ships hold the Grand Fleet while the lighter German ships destroyed the Allied transport and supply system into France, thereby relieving the pressure on the German armies; this well-thought-out plan was frustrated by the German seamen, who mutinied and refused to take their ships out.

In dying for what they knew to be the cause of justice, of humanity, and of righteousness the officers and men of the Shark taught more truly the religion of Jesus Christ than could be taught from all the pulpits of Christendom, for they carried out the precept "Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friend." Cheerfully and without question they died for others at the behest of others; for be it remembered that the officers and men of the Allied navies did not make the Great War. Through long years of hardship, of exposure, and of death they did their utmost to make peace after the civilian statesmen had made war.

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The Book Table

Plays and Play-Makers

Reviews by EDWIN BJORKMAN

THERE are people who assert that no nation can hope to have a great drama of its own until its members have learned to read plays as well as to see them. If that be true, we are evidently on the way at last toward the long-promised blossoming of a native dramatic literature, with its concurrent rehabilitation of the stage itself. The number of current original plays finding publication now is enormous compared with the number a few years ago. Furthermore, the old managerial prejudice against publication before production is disappearing, while at the same time publishers are ceasing to reserve the advantages of publication for those plays which have already attracted widespread attention by a successful production. All this is significant when one bears in mind that, after all, only a minor part of the population can get to the theater with any sort of regularity, and that the most meritorious plays are never likely to get beyond a few big cities. It means that practically every play of genuine value is made available to every American reader, regardless of production and facilities for attending such productions. It means a tremendously expanded chance for systematic study of the drama. It means, in addition, that American plays will be accessible to observers abroad, many of whom hitherto have thought that what they didn't see in print didn't exist.

Of the volumes that have caused these optimistic reflections, the first one, Mr. Moses's "Representative Continental Dramas,"[1] is a collection of the kind that is becoming more and more common. It contains fifteen plays by as many European playwrights, representing eight different nationalities. It is fairly representative of the period leading up to the Great War. All the plays seem to have been published before, but grouped as they now are, they will be of value for purposes of comparison and systematic study.

As a dramatist Turgenev is little known outside of Russia, and hardly at all here. The publication of his plays in English translation[2] shows beyond doubt that he was essentially foreign to the dramatic form. If their dramatic value be questionable, however, their importance as documents on racial psychology can hardly be overestimated. The little sketch named "A Conversation on the Highway," for instance, throws more light on Russian character than any number of learned treatises. The translations are as astonishing as are most translations of this kind. "Now you have to put your say in," remarks one character. Where could such an expression be found outside the vast wilderness of haphazardly transplanted literatures?

Eugene O'Neill has a force and a dramatic sense that cannot be denied. What he writes for the stage is vital throughout. In spite of a certain formlessness and an unmistakable redundancy, practically every one of his plays moves with merciless logic toward some clearly conceived goal, and that goal is of genuine importance to the lives of men and women all around us. This is certainly the case with the two plays contained in the present volume,[3] one of which deals with the problem of mixed marriages, while the other one tackles the Strindbergian problem of the "duel between the sexes"—which, at bottom, is not at all a conflict between the male and the female, but between the sexual side of man—or woman—and his other tendencies and faculties and functions. Both are worth reading as well as seeing. Both belong to the more outstanding plays produced in this country. And yet both are marred by some lack or shortcoming which is rather hard to define. They do not quite convince. Perhaps it is because the feelings of the characters are so hectic, or because these feelings are expressed at such length and with such unusual intensity. The conflicting emotions portrayed in "Welded," for instance, are genuine enough, and far from uncommon, but the talk of the two principal characters tempts to a diagnosis of overgrown egos plus undisciplined nerves.

"The Better Understanding,"[4] by A. E. Thomas and Clayton Hamilton, is in many ways antithetical to the O'Neill plays. From the craftsman's point of view, it must be declared a remarkably fine piece of work. In construction, dialogue, and character drawing it is nearly perfect. The joint authors have taken a very old situation—a devoted husband preoccupied by his struggle for worldly success, a young wife feeling neglected, and a charming friend ready to furnish diversion and consolation. The theme is old as the hills, but Messrs. Thomas and Hamilton have, by mere skillful handling of stage possibilities, given it an astonishing freshness and force of appeal. Their achievement is the more notable because the play has no villain. Every character, including the potential lover, is fine and honest and upright. Every one concerned is ready for a great deal of self-sacrifice in order to save the other two from suffering. And yet life and circumstance sway them and fling to the verge of disaster. The dramatic suspense is kept up to the last line.

The idea of making short plays out of the most dramatic Bible stories is an excellent one. It helps to humanize religion, and it helps to make the drama tolerable where it is most decried and resisted. Unfortunately, the two authors of these plays[5] have gone about their task in a fashion which one critic, at least, cannot but regret. They have tried, not to re-create the dialogue of those very real men and women with whom the stories deal, but to ape the language of the English Bible. This language needs no defense. But, first of all, it takes a poet to imitate it. And, secondly, it is hopelessly artificial for the purpose now in question. The authors are recommended to read the old miracle play known as the "Wakefield Second Shepherds' Play," and to do so remembering that the language used in that play was the colloquial idiom of the day. The man, or men, who wrote that play would never have permitted one of their characters to say, "Give thou it to me." What they would have said would probably have been: "Give it to me, kid!"

Elizabeth R. Hunt's "The Play of Today"[6] is already well known, having first been published in 1913. The present revised edition has been brought well up to date. The book is undoubtedly useful, though, like all books of its kind, it

[1] Representative Continental Dramas: Revolutionary and Transitional. Edited with Introductions by Montrose J. Moses. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. $4.50.

[2] The Plays of Ivan S. Turgenev. Translated from the Russian by M. S. Mandell, M.A. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.50.

[3] All God's Chillun Got Wings, and Welded. By Eugene O'Neill. Boni & Liveright, New York. $2.

[4] The Better Understanding. By A. E. Thomas and Clayton Hamilton. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. $1.50.

[5] Six Bible Plays. By Mabel Hobbs and Helen Miles. The Century Company, New York.

[6] The Play of Today. By Elizabeth R. Hunt. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $2.

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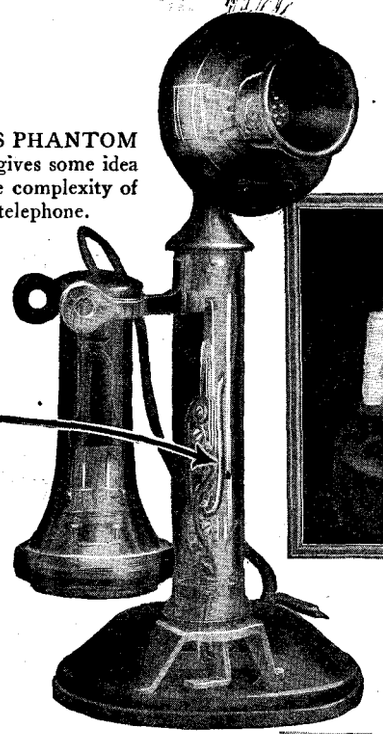

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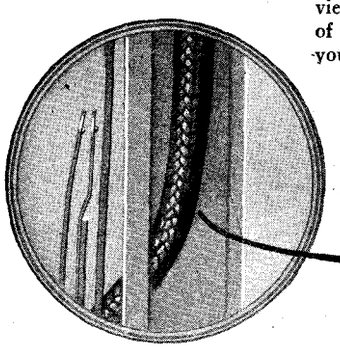

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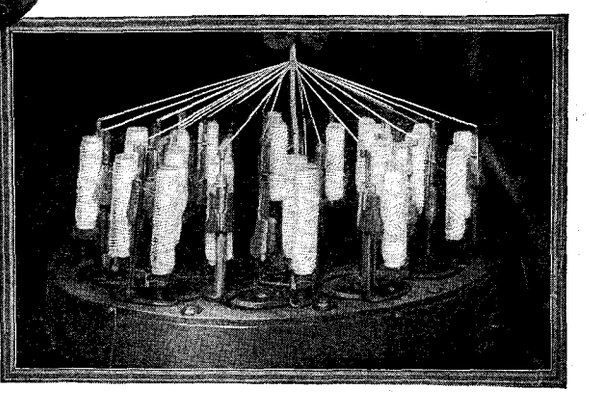

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should be handled with care by any one actually aspiring to dramatic creation. Such creation cannot be learned out of text-books.

The New Books

FICTION

TAKING OF HELEN (THE), AND OTHER PROSE SELECTIONS. By John Masefield. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.60.

They have now fixed the date of Troy's fall at 1184 B.C. It is a strange and wonderful thing that to-day, more than three thousand years later, poets are still making stories about that Helen who is said to have been the cause of it. And no less strange or wonderful it is that one such story can be as moving and as beautiful as if it had been woven around some topic never yet touched by the fancy of man. By this feat John Masefield has proved himself a poet as much as by anything he ever wrote with rhyme and meter. It is the clandestine passing of Paris and Helen from the Court of King Menelaus that he has chosen for his special theme, and reading it one knows how it happened as if one had been there in person. Otherwise than that it could not have happened. Nor could it have happened more charmingly. Then, having reached the end of one of the most perfect stories produced in our own time, one regrets that other things of less value should have been added just to make the volume thick enough and costly enough for advantageous commercial handling. Thus even the story of Helen, and of the love that has kept thirty centuries of poets singing, can be tarnished by the spirit that needs must put the sale above the thing sold.

VALLEY OF HEADSTRONG MEN (THE). By J. S. Fletcher. The George H. Doran Company, New York. $1.75.

This is not one of the stories of crime and detection which Mr. Fletcher has put forth so rapidly and with such remarkable success in the last few years. It is so different, indeed, that one wonders whether it is an early work or whether it is a deliberate attempt to abandon the type of story associated with the author's name. At all events, this book is rather old-fashioned, with deep-seated hatred, a fantastic attempt at revenge, and, finally, the murderous and diabolical blowing down by dynamite of an immense dam as the exciting incidents. Mr. Fletcher again shows himself to be a born story-teller and keeps the reader's interest awake and excited throughout.

LUSTRES. By Anne and Dillwyn Parrish. The George H. Doran Company, New York. $2.

Fancy without imagination inspires the two authors of this series of attractively printed sketches, which could be called short stories only by courtesy. Both the perpetrators suffer distressingly from the "little"-complex, employing the word "little" on almost every page and many times on some, apparently hoping thereby to render more appealing the vapid, ineffectual, misunderstood, and dying characters of their vaguely wistful narratives.

"The tints of life below the surface"—to use a phrase from the jacket—are all too frequently inchoate and unpleasant ones, but it isn't often that a book comes along to prove this; and it doesn't speak very well for the intelligence of the reading public to ask it to take wisdom and mysticism from the mouths of half-wits and sufferers from warping misfortune and senile dementia. Why show it, for instance, half a dozen graceful or picturesque ways in which to die? If the symbols of the book were consistent and if atmosphere were created in any one of the stories capable of supporting any symbolism, one would quarrel less with a volume of this sort. Certain meanings you may willfully or arbitrarily read into them, but these tales do not contain the strong meat of symbolism nor the heady wine of fantasy. They are cold and unflavored pastries, decorated with rococo sugar curlicues signifying nothing.

LA DAME DE SAINTE HERMINE. By Grace King. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.25.

Grace King has long been recognized as one of the best Southern writers of historical tales and sketches; she is for Louisiana much what Mary Johnston is for Virginia. Her new novel is a pleasing though old-fashioned romance of the earliest days of New Orleans, with the famous Bienville as one of the characters. The lady whose name serves as the title has been sent out from France under a royal *lettre de cachet* after an attempt by her family to make her accept as husband a man to whom she has been married practically by force. The situation of this poor girl in a strange country is moving and captures the reader's interest. There is a bit too much historical detail, otherwise the tale is agreeable if not strikingly dramatic.

HISTORY AND POLITICAL ECONOMY

FREEDOM OF THE SEAS IN HISTORY, LAW AND POLITICS (THE). By Pitman B. Potter. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. $2.50.

This book has been developed from a thesis submitted in 1918 for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Harvard. It has the merits and the defects of the better sort of doctorial treatise. It is based on an incredible deal of reading, and

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every other statement is coupled with a foot-note reference; but it cannot be said that the material has been thoroughly digested. The book, then, is a creditable arrangement rather than a creative work. The doctrine—if one may give it that name—of "freedom of the seas" has since the origins of maritime law been sufficiently vague and shifting; it is so to-day. Dr. Potter has done something toward fixing and clarifying it—an achievement. He traces its vicissitudes in respect of theory and application down to 1914; defines "maritime freedom as actually recognized by accepted international law" in 1914; shows how the World War has affected it; and, perhaps a little timidly, "projects" its future.

By no means a great book nor to be commended in respect of style, but definitely useful. The appended bibliography deserves unqualified praise.

PEOPLE'S CORPORATION (THE). By King C. Gillette. Boni & Liveright, New York. $2.

Another Utopia, and to the mind of this reviewer the most hideous to date; which is saying much. The author's condemnation of the existing "profit system," its waste, unfairness, etc., is just enough; but the substitute offered is impracticable, silly, and horrible. For example: "The buildings in which people live will be operated like the best hotels which we have at present. . . . They will probably be built in the form of wings extending outward from a huge court, and they might easily be fifty floors high. It is thus conceivable that 100,000 people might be housed in one such building and that ten buildings or a million people could be supplied from one central kitchen." 'Nuff said.

BIOGRAPHY

REAL JOHN BURROUGHS (THE). By William Sloane Kennedy. The Funk and Wagnalls Company, New York. $2.50.

This is an "appreciation" of one of our two greatest nature writers—Thoreau, of course, being the other—by an intimate friend, himself a nature writer of no mean distinction. Mr. Kennedy gives you Burroughs's quaint and on the whole engaging personality. In the opinion of this reviewer, he exalts the merits of Burroughs somewhat unduly, at any rate in comparison with those of other nature writers; on the other hand, the best feature of the book is its shrewd, searching, and just criticism of Burroughs's defects.

It does not raise our estimation of Burroughs to belittle, as Mr. Kennedy does, Gilbert White and Jefferies. The effect, rather, is to lower our estimation of the critic. Burroughs is a more considerable writer than White, but the latter has exquisite and precious qualities denied to Burroughs; just as Collins, though on the whole a far less notable

This review by H. L. Pangborn taken from The Literary Review of "The New York Evening Post" will be of particular interest to Outlook readers

THE CHALLENGE OF THE KLAN. By Stanley Frost. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis. $2.

The mass of literature about the Ku Klux Klan has already attained formidable bulk, but most of it is negligible because of its obvious partisanship. Mr. Frost's study, on the contrary, is a model of impartial reporting; a carefully prepared statement of demonstrable fact, based chiefly on his own direct investigation, and as fully documented as the nature of the case permits. He is temperamentally judicially minded, and, although one is left in no doubt as to his own feeling, he manages to keep remarkably aloof and impersonal in his analyses. He is not an alarmist. His final summary refuses to see any "hideous menace." He concludes:

> It [the Klan] can do much harm, beyond doubt, and will do some. The prejudices it has released, the turmoil it has aroused, its wrong principles and wrong methods are all dangerous and might be serious indeed. Perhaps I am a little weary of many menaces, but . . . I can not see that it is likely to do any very great or irreparable harm. . . . It seems clear, also, that the Klan is doing much good along with the harm. . . . Its services in stirring up thought and focussing attention on the evils which now threaten Americanism are very great. . . . Besides, the Klan can hardly live long in anything like its present form. It is a protest movement, a reform drive, and as such it is almost certain to be killed by either success or failure.

Nevertheless, his array of facts and figures gives one furiously to think, especially since they are, possibly, more impressive than his balanced opinion as to their importance. It may also be argued that he does not give its full weight to the fanatic religious element in the Klan's motivation—the one element which is everywhere present, in Oregon as well as in Florida, on Long Island and in Oklahoma, whereas the other components of the mixture vary greatly with localities. The Oregon farmer is not greatly interested in the negro or the Jew, but he is a dangerously militant religious crusader—witness the outrageous Oregon School Law. It is possible to see in the Klan primarily the active, belligerent wing of a much wider religious party movement, which is capable, potentially, of incalculable wreckage.

Space lacks for any extended summary of Mr. Frost's facts. He credits the Klan, at the date of writing, two months ago, with a total membership of 4,500,000 at least, and with a prospective membership at the next election of not less than 9,000,000 voters—possibly 12,000,000—in any case a body large enough to dictate terms to both political parties. He demonstrates the astonishing efficiency of its present political organization, giving concrete instances of its victories at the polls. It now controls local offices in twenty-one States. Mr. Frost admits that there is a probability of a complete Klan victory in the fall elections—to the extent, that is, of its limited purposes, for he makes it clear that the Klan is not after the offices or spoils in the ordinary sense of the activity of a political party. But it does aim to control legislation, within the field of its desire, and Mr. Frost expects it to dominate the next Congress and the next Administration, no matter who is elected.

That limited field of its purpose may be stated as the complete elimination from affairs of every one who is not "native, white, and Protestant." It is the third item in this trinity that is loaded with high explosive.

Mr. Frost's outline of the Klan's history is excellent and illuminative. He follows its development and changes carefully, and he shows that violence has been abandoned, that the present leaders are probably trying to raise its standards and to keep it to really high ideals. He quotes, liberally, from interviews with Dr. Evans, its present head, and also gives specimens of its propaganda literature. He brings out the fact that its real objective is control of the schools; but he, perhaps, minimizes the vital importance of that. The book is far the most important on the subject that has as yet appeared, and deserves a most careful reading.

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poet than Tennyson, is in some respects the latter's superior. As for Jefferies, many persons of judgment will contend that he digged deeper and soared higher than Burroughs ever did, and should be ranked above him. A like claim will be made by Thoreau enthusiasts.

Hudson is not once mentioned by Mr. Kennedy. The fact may perhaps be construed as an admission that Hudson's superiority is unchallengeable; very proper, if so. To say of Burroughs that he is decidedly inferior to Hudson is like saying of Marlowe that he is decidedly inferior to Shakespeare; it is not inconsistent with attribution to him of very high merit.

Burroughs is remarkable for lucidity, sincerity, infectious good spirits, optimism, humor, and other excellencies. On the other hand, he is somewhat diffuse, his style lacks distinction, his observation is not always thorough or accurate, his attitude on controverted points is apt to be obstinate rather than characterized by the scientific spirit, his optimism is so persistent and unvarying as to suggest a certain superficiality. Towards the end he went in strong for philosophy. As a philosopher he is pleasing and moderately stimulating, but not very important. But when all is said, he ranks very high among nature writers—*i. e.*, writers on nature whose attitude is as much poetic as scientific. He is one of the glories of our American literature. We may safely predict a very long life, if not immortality, for "Locusts and Wild Honey" and "Winter Sunshine."

Perhaps the best thing in Mr. Kennedy's book is a chapter on the birds of Britain, embodying in chief a study of the nightingale made by him at Burroughs's request. It is a very beautiful piece of writing.

A book to be recommended to all for information and entertainment.

SCIENCE

FIGHTING FOES TOO SMALL TO SEE. By Joseph McFarland. The F. A. Davis Company, Philadelphia. $2.50.

There is romance in the battle man has fought against the microbes, and Dr. McFarland has found that romance and put it into his book. In a popular, non-technical manner he relates how man has acquired his knowledge of the bacteria and how he has successfully combated many of them. This is anything but a text-book, but rather an entertaining work of the sort one with a general interest in biological science would choose to read in order to get a clear idea of the nature of microbes without making a systematic study of the whole subject. Only the interesting parts of such a system are revealed. Some of the varied topics are antitoxins, vaccines, mosquitoes as carriers of disease, what infection actually is. The illustrations are interesting and clear.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

"ON THE FRINGE OF EASTERN SEAS." By Peter Blundell. Robert M. McBride & Co., New York. $3.

The author was in charge of a factory at Brunei, the City of Many Waters, on the island of Borneo, and he tells us in a clean-cut, direct, and rather striking way what happened to himself out there. Thus we get a series of intimate pictures of the life of the Malay inhabitants of that far-off place quite unlike anything that has come out of it before. Most other reports from that part of the world have impressed on us the impassable chasm that severs the East from the West. Mr. Blundell's straightforward narrative tends instead to show that beneath the glaring differences of the surface move human natures closely akin to one another. A Malay lover is not much unlike an American one, as we may conclude from the charming story of Pangiran Chuchu and Si Ajar that runs like a brighter thread through Mr. Blundell's otherwise businesslike chapters. The book is one of those that will help greatly in bringing us a little closer to our fellowmen of other races and other creeds.

MUSIC, PAINTING, AND OTHER ARTS

PRIMER OF MODERN ART (A). By Sheldon Cheney. Boni & Liveright, New York. $6.

An excellent book from which to learn about all those queer pictures and statues which make the average man so angry. About post-impressionism, cubism, futurism, and other schools, fads, and sensations. Herein is explained what painters and sculptors are trying to do when they produce pictures which seem hopeless to the admirers of Sargent and Blashfield, sculpture which looks like insanity to the lovers of Saint-Gaudens If any one of those average citizens will read this book, he will find that Mr. Cheney has something interesting to say, and some plausible arguments to advance, although they may not be convincing arguments. It would be easier for Mr. Cheney to explain and defend if he had not included some of the illustrations, which, as it has aptly been said, look like nothing so much as a plate of old-fashioned clam chowder, seen from above. It is a handsome volume, well printed and well illustrated.

Books Received

ESSAYS AND CRITICISM

ESSAYS. By William Hazlitt. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.

QUIET TALKS ABOUT SIMPLE ESSENTIALS AND THE PRESENT WORLD OUTLOOK By S. D. Gordon. The Fleming H. Revell Company, New York.

SHAKESPEARE CANON (THE). Part II. By J. M. Robertson. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $5.

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The Financial Department is prepared to furnish information regarding standard investment securities, but cannot undertake to *advise* the purchase of any specific security. It will give to inquirers facts of record or information resulting from expert investigation, and a nominal charge of one dollar per inquiry will be made for this special service. All letters of inquiry should be addressed to THE OUTLOOK FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York.

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A BOND of the very highest quality is known as gilt-edged. The term is in rather general use, and is employed by many people who perhaps have never stopped to think about what its exact meaning is. It may therefore be interesting, and possibly helpful, to consider this term, and then to illustrate it by a concrete example.

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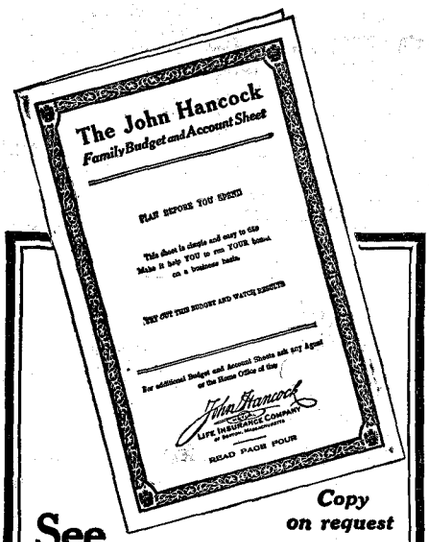

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highest tests of a combination of the three are entitled to be given the rating AAA.

A bond which meets the highest tests of asset value is, it goes without saying, secured by property worth without any question a great deal more than the face value of the total amount of the bond issue. Fifty million dollars' worth of bonds secured by property whose value is two hundred million would certainly be gilt-edged so far as this first test is concerned.

To meet the test of earning power successfully the amount of money available for interest on the bonds must exceed the sum required by more than a substantial margin; it should be several times in excess of the amount required. Further, earnings over a period of years past must have been in the same ratio. If the $50,000,000 of bonds mentioned in the preceding paragraph bear 5 per cent, that necessitates $2,500,000 a year for interest payments. If earnings available for interest have averaged $12,000,000 a year for the past ten years, there could be no question about the second test having been successfully met.

Stability involves to a large extent both the previous elements. If the property continues valuable, and promises to remain so, and there is every indication that earnings will show no diminution, the investor can feel that there is no uncertainty about the standing and worth of his bond. He has a stable investment, in other words, and certainly that is important. This does not mean to imply that no bond will ever decline in price. Economic crises come along and the prices of all securities are affected by them; money rates change from time to time, and have their influence on the investment markets; supply and demand show periodic variations, and the operation of this basic law also has its influence on all prices. The point is, however, that a gilt-edged bond is intrinsically sound, and that, while it may fluctuate in price to a certain extent, its value remains unimpaired. We saw a statement recently that one of the few benefits of the late war was the opportunity afforded investors to buy Liberty Bonds at 82. There was a happening that illustrates our point. When Liberty Bonds sold at 82, no sane man thought the United States was going to pieces; the country intrinsically was as sound as ever, and the obligations of the Government were still investments of the highest grade. They were affected by conditions in the bond market, but they never had any speculative characteristics, and their low price was not a warning, but an opportunity. There is a difference between

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a bond declining in price because of outside conditions and one which goes down because something has happened to impair the value of the property securing it or because earnings have been adversely affected.

To get down to cases, it can do no harm to mention a bond which every one knows is gilt-edged and to give a few facts and figures which will help to explain why. In 1901 the United States Steel Corporation issued $304,000,000 of fifty-year first-mortgage 5 per cent gold bonds, due April 1, 1951. These bonds were issued in six series, A to F; series A for $54,000,000, and each of the other series for $50,000,000. A sinking fund of $3,040,000 a year was provided for the purchase or redemption of the bonds, it being stipulated that they could be bought in the open market for not more than $1,150 a $1,000 bond, and if unobtainable at that price bonds could be drawn for redemption from three of the six series and the owners of those called be paid $1,150 a bond. All bonds purchased or called are held alive in the sinking fund, and the interest on them added to the regular annual payments and used for the purchase or redemption of other outstanding bonds. In 1923 there was $7,233,000 available for this purpose, and at the present time $100,371,000 of these bonds are held by the trustee in the sinking fund, leaving $203,629,000 of the original issue still outstanding. We leave it to the mathematicians to figure how long it will be before the whole issue has been obtained for the sinking fund. In 1923 the price of these bonds ranged from a low of 103¾ to a high of 105, but in some years the price has been above 115. Naturally, the lower the price, the further the available funds will go and the more bonds it is possible to obtain.

These bonds are a direct obligation of the United States Steel Corporation and are secured by a first mortgage on all of its properties, stocks, securities, etc., now owned or hereafter acquired. Can any one doubt that this security is worth many times the face value of the bonds?

In 1923 funds available for bond interest amounted to over $100,000,000, one-half the par value of the first-mortgage bonds outstanding. There is an issue of second-mortgage bonds outstanding to the amount of $167,725,000, and interest on this second-mortgage issue—after payment of interest on the first-mortgage bonds, of course—was earned last year 6.78 times over; for the past six years interest has been earned on an average of over five times. Can any one doubt that interest on the first-mortgage bonds, the Steel Corporation's first-mortgage obligation, is assured? The fact that the directors felt justified in declaring an extra dividend on the common shares last week is an indication of a healthy situation as regards earnings and another proof of how well covered the bond interest is. In other words, these bonds meet the two tests of asset value and earning power, and pass them both with flying colors.

Steel is perhaps the business which best reflects the general condition of industry throughout the country. Steel is a basic industry, and steel products are more necessary to more businesses probably than any other commodity. Whether business is considered "good" or "bad," the fact remains that there is always a tremendous lot of it being done, and steel is essential to it. These facts indicate that the business of the United States Steel Corporation is a stable one, and thus the third test of a gilt-edged investment is met.

Here, then, is an example of a bond which Moody rates AAA and which every one will agree is gilt-edged. It has no elements of speculation, and it goes without saying that any bond deemed speculative in even the slightest degree cannot be given this classification. The selling price of gilt-edged bonds and, as a result, their yield, are determined more than anything else by the price of money. A bond is evidence of a credit the bondholder has established with the issuing company; money is credit which the owner has with his bank or with the government. Money is worth what it is because the credit is good; a gilt-edged bond is evidence of good credit also, and in a sense it is more or less the same thing as money. When money is plentiful, it is cheap, and credit can be obtained at a low rate of interest; a plentiful supply of money increases the demand for investments, prices advance, and yields come down. With money scarce securities are turned into cash, the supply tends to exceed the demand, prices fall, and yields go up. This applies to gilt-edged investments more truly than to speculative, which are subject always to influences which have no effect whatsoever on those intrinsically sound.

The yield on gilt-edged bonds is less than on those rated in a lower class. The purchaser should bear this fact in mind always, and, if he desires a higher yield than such bonds afford, face the facts squarely and act with his eyes open. People who say they want absolutely safe investments, but specify that they must return a yield which is higher than that afforded by such securities, are, on the face of things, demanding an impossibility.

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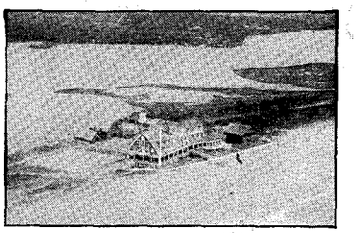

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WELLESLEY HILLS, MASS. (Near Boston)

Fine location. Hot and cold running water in nearly all bedrooms. Some private baths. Many comfortably furnished rooms *for general use.* Large, breezy, screened piazza. Pleasant forest walks and country drives. Tennis. Croquet. Baby golf course. Ample grounds for the children. Cream, berries, fruit, fresh eggs, chicken. $15–$25 a week.

A HOTEL OF DISTINCTION
High and Cool in the Berkshires

HOTEL ASPINWALL
LENOX, MASS.

Open June 20 to Oct. 15. Golf, Tennis, Saddle Riding, Orchestra, Dancing
L. A. TWOROGER, Manager
Winter Resort: Princess Hotel, Bermuda

The ENGLESIDE Beach Haven N. J.

The Island Resort

The only resort on the Jersey coast that COMBINES perfect bathing, always good fishing, with a modern hotel and gives sure relief from Hay Fever beside. Booklet. 5 tennis courts. Opens June 20th.
R. F. ENGLE, Mgr.

Real Estate

CALIFORNIA

COMING TO CALIFORNIA?

For sale for $6,250, bungalow in good condition, partly furnished. Living-room, 3 sleeping-rooms, kitchen and dining nook, bath, garage, lots of flowers, some fruit, 5 blocks to P. O., ½ block to car line, good district.
J. S. GIBSON, Box 381, Santa Barbara, Cal.

MAINE

Beautiful KEZAR LAKE, ME.

For rent from August 1 for the rest of the season. Attractive camp, 2 bedrooms, large living-room, open fireplace, large front piazza and back porch. Most convenient kitchen. All thoroughly screened. Good boat with excellent overboard motor. Telephone in camp.
Price $150.
Apply Howard H. Carroll, W. Medford, Mass.

PEMAQUID, ME.
NEAR PORTLAND
For Sale or To Let

The finest estate on the coast of Maine. 300 acres. The large Colonial home, furnished, and grounds, will be let separate from the farm if desired. Also an 8-room cottage with garage to let. Ocean view, fine harbor and drives.
W. G. Tibbetts, Pemaquid Harbor, Me.

Pemaquid Harbor, Me. TO LET

Modern 6-room cottage. Charming location on harbor front. Photos on request. E. M. Hill, Stoneham, Mass.

MASSACHUSETTS

FOR RENT—$450 for Season— Ideal new small bungalow for 2 adults. Best part of Bass Rocks, Mass. Fine ocean view. City water. Electricity. Telephone. Address W. B., "Wee Cote," Bass Rocks, Mass.

CAPE COD Ocean Front Improved Bungalows

3 to 8 rooms with bath; moderate rents. **S. O. BALL, Truro, Mass.**

At MANOMET, PLYMOUTH, MASS. New furnished shore cottage to let or for sale. Broad piazzas, electric lights, hot and cold water, conveniences, open fireplaces. Terms moderate.
Wm. H. HAWLEY, Room 148, State House, Boston

Marblehead, Mass. For season, $800, 8-room house, beautifully furnished, piazza, fireplaces, modern improvements. Wonderful ocean view. Mary F. Boles, Marblehead.

NANTUCKET, MASS. Furnished Cottage

Ocean front. Six rooms, fireplace, etc. R. E. FARRIER, 487 So. Salina St., Syracuse, N. Y.

FOR SALE

Attractive modern bungalow in the Berkshires. Removed from main highway and steam cars. Large living-room with fireplace. Five bedrooms, two of which are sleeping-porches. Running water. Unexcelled view. Two acres of land. For full particulars address EUGENE H. WELLS,
P. O. Box 150, North Adams, Mass.

4 Fireplaces
Brick ovens, funny little closets, grand ocean view

are features of white house for sale. $3,500. Summer cottages to let and for sale.
HELEN THURSTON
20 Pleasant St., Tel. 80, Rockport, Mass.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

FOR SALE

WHITE MOUNTAINS, N. H.

Bungalow Camp, furnished, 10 acres on lake. Boathouse, boats, fishing, bathing, ice, wood. Price $6,000. Details and photos on request. Box 22, Center Conway, N. H.

NEW YORK

For Sale, Unfurnished, or For Rent, Furnished

"THE KNOLL"

the home of the late
Dr. Lyman Abbott at

CORNWALL-ON-HUDSON, N. Y.

The house contains twelve rooms, three baths, lavatory, electric lights, and steam heat. There are on the property also a cottage, with bath and electricity, and a garage and cow barn. About two and a half acres of land afford ample room for garden. Many shade and fruit trees. Views of mountains and river. Address
H. W. CHADEAYNE
44 Smith Street, Newburgh, N. Y.

Adirondacks—The Crater Club, Essex-on-Lake Champlain, N. Y. Furnished cottages without housekeeping cares at moderate rentals; meals at the Club. *References required.* Circular on application. John B. Burnham, 233 Broadway, New York.

"ADIRONDACKS" COTTAGES
For Sale or To Rent.
Also Camp Sites For Sale.
W. H. Otis, Keene Valley, N. Y. Phone 14F14.

CAMP IN ADIRONDACKS By Week or Month

Furnished, 2 bedrooms, running water, toilet, $20 per week. A good center for touring. Jersey milk and cream. Ice. A. WARD, Jay, N. Y.

VERMONT

LAKE CHAMPLAIN, near Burlington, Vt. For Rent, attractive, well furnished 8-room cottage, all improvements, sleeping-porch, garage. $300 July and August. Address Box 19, Springdale, Conn.

Lake Champlain
(Isle La Motte)

Estate of 5 acres on lake and 147 acres farm land; beautifully situated; offered by executors; residence, 14 rooms, partially furnished, 3 baths, fireplaces, sun parlor, wide verandas; club house, 3 bedrooms, toilet, billiard table, fireplace; complete farm buildings; 2 docks, fine roads. Price $40,000; terms. EDMUND SEYMOUR, Executor, 45 Wall St., New York City. Telephone Hanover 6194.

Boarders Wanted

RETIRED, beautiful home amid rolling hills, three miles south of WEST CHESTER, PA., in historic "Battle-of-the-Brandywine" country. Spacious house, wide veranda. Wanted: a few paying guests. Mary W. Morris, "Fernbank," West Chester, Pa. R.D.5.

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Apartments

Sublet, July and August, beautifully furnished apartment overlooking Hudson. Living-room, dining-room, two bedrooms, bath, kitchen and porch. Electric lights and phone. 28 minutes from Grand Central. References required. Phone for appointment or apply Van Santwood, 484 Hawthorne Ave., Yonkers.

N.Y. City. Attractive furnished apartment, June 1-Sept. 15, 56th St., near Park Ave. Southern exposure; living-room, foyer bedroom, bath, kitchenette, automatic elevator. $115 per month. Phone before 10 a.m. for appointment. Stobo, Cathedral 3280. 2,341, Outlook.

TO LET, furnished, JAMAICA, modern 3-room apartment, near park and transit lines. Phone after 4 P.M., Jamaica 7155 J. 2,337, Outlook.

Country Board

Mother and daughters living in old-fashioned **VERMONT Farmhouse** wish to take **boarders.** Address 1,919, Outlook.

Cheemauna Lodge. On State Highway Boston to Montreal. River front, boating bathing, mountain hiking. Home cooking Postcard view. Mrs. C. R. FORD, Sharon, Vt

PERMANENT and WEEK-END GUESTS TAKEN AT Overlook Farm Cannondale, Conn.

A Mart of the Unusual

Let me sell your slightly used gowns, sports clothes, and children's clothing on commission. More satisfactory than to sell for cash. MAY A. SHANNON, Wakefield, R.I.

Parliamentary Law and Public Speaking. Lessons in class or individual. Lectures given on Current History. Mrs. Cora Welles Trow, 350 West 55th St. Tel. Columbus 8244.

Sport Dress of Heavy Crepe-de-Chine. Machine embroidery in any desired color—White only. Featuring new raglan sleeve. Send for circular and sample 34-44. Price $25. Vera Studio, Elkins Park, Pa.

Muslin Tapestry Rugs to match your chintzes. Bags, runners. Designed and hand woven by THE DAVENPORTS, New Hope, Pa. Visit our looms or write.

BOARD AND ROOMS

SUMMER guests wanted by lady having car and living alone in village near Watertown, N. Y. Ladies preferred. 5,110, Outlook.

BOOKS, MAGAZINES MANUSCRIPTS

AUTHORS' manuscripts carefully typed at home. Terms moderate. Particulars upon request. Reply 5,106, Outlook.

STATIONERY

EMBOSSED STATIONERY. NEW—INEXPENSIVE—DISTINCTIVE. Embossed by our plateless process on white, blue, light amber, or gray paper in gold, blue, green, black, or red. 200 single sheets (half embossed, half plain) and 100 envelopes, or 100 folded sheets and 100 envelopes, all embossed, $2. West of the Mississippi add 20c. Write for free samples. Lewis, 284 Second Ave., Troy, N. Y.

PERSONAL STATIONERY—200 single sheets, 100 envelopes, nicely printed on Hammermill bond, dark blue ink, postpaid $1.00. Beyond third zone add 10c. Frank B. Hicks, Macedon Center, N. Y.

EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES

CO-OPERATIVE PLACEMENT SERVICE—Social workers, secretaries, superintendents, matrons, housekeepers, dietitians, cafeteria managers, companions, governesses, mothers' helpers. The Richards Bureau, 68 Barnes St., Providence.

HELP WANTED

Business Situations

HOTELS NEED TRAINED MEN AND WOMEN. Nation-wide demand for high-salaried men and women. Past experience unnecessary. We train you by mail and put you in touch with big opportunities. Big pay, fine living, interesting work, quick advancement, permanent. *Write for free book,* "YOUR BIG OPPORTUNITY." Lewis Hotel Training Schools, Suite G 5842, Washington, D. C.

Companions and Domestic Helpers

CHILD'S NURSE—Young Protestant woman to take care of baby girl two and a half years old, do light housework. Very pleasant surroundings on country estate near Philadelphia. Box AA, Bethayres, Pa.

WANTED—nurse, companion. An undergraduate nurse with practical knowledge of Spanish. State age, training and salary expected. 5,114, Outlook.

HELP WANTED

Teachers and Governesses

GOVERNESS or nursery governess qualified to teach kindergarten and primary work, two children living in Cuba. Expenses and moderate salary. 5,069, Outlook.

GOVERNESS or mother's assistant wanted, who must be orderly, of good disposition, fond of out of doors, and with ability to handle a girl of eight and a boy of seven. Although maids are kept, she will have to give some assistance in the house, such as washing children's stockings and mending. Position is permanent. Address P. O. Box 1,586, Springfield, Mass.

WANTED—Teachers for history, English and mathematics for school in Southern winter resort. Give training, experience and salary desired in first letter. Reply 5,117, Outlook.

SITUATIONS WANTED

Professional Situations

NURSE, experienced, refined, desires engagement. Invalid adult or child. Highest testimonials. Willing to travel. 5,104, Outlook.

Business Situations

MOUNT Holyoke graduate, fourteen years' experience in secretarial work, mostly educational, desires position in Philadelphia as secretary about June 15. 5,101, Outlook.

Companions and Domestic Helpers

HOUSEMOTHER, school in or near New York. September. Address 5,061, Outlook.

MATRON—Housemother, refined, experienced, desires responsible position. 5,100, Outlook.

WANTED, by private school French teacher, position as companion, chaperon, or hostess in private family. Experienced traveler. References exchanged. 5,109, Outlook.

SUPERVISING housekeeper, New England woman, middle-aged, long experience in all household duties. Willing to make herself generally useful. Excellent references. 5,112, Outlook.

GENTLEWOMAN would assist in home duties like one of family. Modest salary. References. 5,116, Outlook.

Teachers and Governesses

COLLEGE junior wants summer work as tutor or athletic director or both. Best references given. 4,998, Outlook.

WANTED—Position as governess to a deaf child or adult. Graduate, expert lip reader. 5,093, Outlook.

FRENCH lessons exchanged for room-board. Country. Lady teacher speaking English. 5,103, Outlook.

SITUATIONS WANTED

Teachers and Governesses

AMERICAN RHODES SCHOLAR, just returned from three years of study and travel abroad and who is at present an instructor in an American college, will serve as tutor or tutor-companion during coming summer or part of it; available after June 15. Address 5,084, Outlook.

PRINCIPAL wishes to recommend capable, experienced teacher of French. French woman, with successful experience in only the best schools of this country. 5,089, Outlook.

FRENCH girl, college student, wants position through the summer as tutor for children from eight to fourteen years of age. Address Marguerite Carette, Western College, Oxford, Ohio.

AMERICAN woman, teacher, lover of children, thorough experience all ages, desires summer position, tutor, companion, or care backward or subnormal child. Shore, country, or travel. Athletic, drive any car. References. 5,107, Outlook.

WORK in summer camp desired by high school teacher (woman). Small compensation expected. Address 5,108, Outlook.

EXPERIENCED young teacher wishes position as governess or charge of motherless children. Will travel. 5,111, Outlook.

WANTED, by experienced riding councillor, position in girls' camp. Best references. 5,113, Outlook.

MARRIED couple, elementary, high school, best of references. 5,115, Outlook.

MISCELLANEOUS

TO young women desiring training in the care of obstetrical patients a six months' nurses' aid course is offered by the Lying-In Hospital, 307 Second Ave., New York. Aids are provided with maintenance and given a monthly allowance of $10. For further particulars address Directress of Nurses.

SHOPPING by New York expert who will send things, services free. References. Hattie Guthman, 309 West 99th St.

"LONG LIFE," 2d edition. Scientific, simple, sensible method of living without constipation, colds or rheumatism, which lead to "the increased death rate after 40." Be master not victim of your habit of life. State physical difficulties. Correspondence and book, $1. "Long Life," 104 Bristol St., New Haven, Conn.

UNUSUALLY fine home in New England village offered for little girl, $20 weekly. 5,102, Outlook.

By the Way

A TUNA, when hooked, will often break the line by wearing it out. Then, with a big hook in his throat or mouth, and dragging leader or line, he will not live long, and the sharks get him. So says Zane Grey, the well-known author, in an article in "Outdoor America." He advocates the use of heavy tackle in fishing for tuna—heavier than club rules allow. For swordfishing he recommends still heavier tackle. "I had made for me," he says, "the famous Coxe reel, much larger than the 90, and it cost fifteen hundred dollars. I had special lines made, 39 thread, 400 yards long. As a reward we had the greatest fishing experience of our lives—and one never equaled by any other anglers. We caught forty tuna, most of which were over one hundred pounds." Dr. Grey and his companion also caught four great swordfish, weighing respectively 262, 298, 360, 324 pounds. "Upwards of 10,000 visitors went out on the dock to look at the 324-pound fish, a most beautiful specimen."

A variation of the radio loud-speaker is described in an English paper as having been adopted for the detection of impurities in water. One application of it is as follows: "An amateur photographer, wishing to ascertain whether his negatives have been properly washed, can connect a dish of water with this special loud-speaker, and it will yell uncannily if he puts into the dish a plate whose film contains the least remaining trace of hyposulphite of soda."

In an article on wills, in the "American Magazine," by a well-known New York City lawyer, the following will made by a Pittsburgh man is quoted:

All my earthly goods in store
To my dear wife I leave for ever more.
I freely give to her, so now I fix
This as my will, and she the executrix.

"In spite of its unusual form," the writer says, "this was a will which could be admitted to probate."

From "Punch:"

Disgusted Diner—"I've tasted considerably better steaks than this, waiter."

Waiter—"Not here, sir, you haven't—not here."

"A Scot told me that he once crossed the Atlantic with a jovial fellow-countryman," says Mr. C. K. Shorter, "who was somewhat deaf. His buoyant friend was at first universally popular on board, but presently he was no less universally boycotted, because he took the following Scotch advantage of his deafness. Whatever you said to him or whenever you said it, he invariably took out his watch and made the one reply: 'Well, it's rather early, but I don't mind if I do.'"

From the "Rutgers Chanticleer:"

Host—"What is your Alma Mater, Mr. Nurich?"

Guest—"I never touch it, thanks, but I'll take a cigar instead."

Several readers, referring to the paragraph in this column about the phrase "loratin' it 'round," say that the true Southern locution is "noratin'." The word "norate" is defined in the Standard Dictionary thus:

No'rate, *vt.* [no'rat-ed; no'rat-ing] [Southern U. S.] To rumor; spread by report. [C.]—no-ra'tion, *n.* [Prov. Eng.] Rumor; speech.

From the "Lehigh Burr:"

She sat on the steps in the eventide,
Enjoying the balmy air;
He came and asked, could he sit by her side?—
And she gave him a vacant stair.

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